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THE
LUTHERAN QUARTERLY

CONDUCTED BY

J. A. SINGMASTER, D. D.

FREDERICK G. GOTWALD, D. D.

JACOB A. CLUTZ, D. D.

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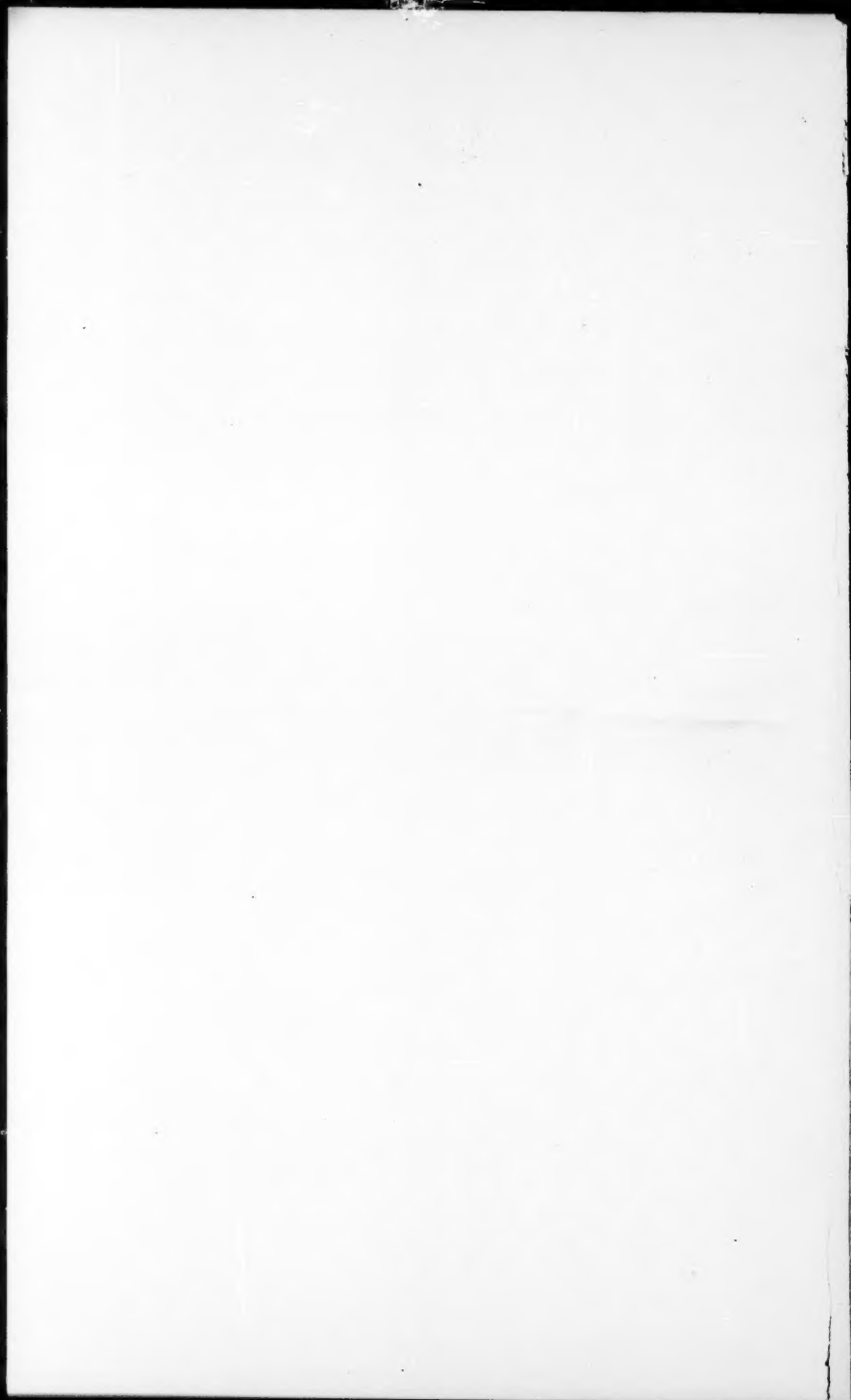
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THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

OCTOBER 1923.

ARTICLE I.

CONFESSION.*

ARTICLE XI OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

BY MARION JUSTUS KLINE, D.D.

The most vivid picture in my mind, as I write these words, is that of the quaint and picturesque town of Augsburg. An intensely interesting and thrilling experience was that which I was privileged to enjoy, in the summer before the World War, in a pilgrimage journey through the Luther country. Not the least of these privileges was that which came in connection with the visit to Augsburg—place immortal—because of the great Augustana.

The Article of the Augsburg Confession with which we are concerned at this time is the Eleventh.

1. The Latin text is: "De Confessione docent, quod absolutio privata in ecclesis retinenda sit, quam quam in confessione non sit necessaria omnium delictorum emmeratio. Est enim impossibilis juxta Psalmum: Delicta quis intelligit?"

2. The German Text is: "Von der Beichte wird also gelehrt, dass man in der Kirchen privatam absolutionem erhalten und nich fallen lassen soll, wiewohl in der Beichte nich noth ist, alle missethat und Sünden Zu erzälalen, dieweil doch solches nicht möglich is Psalms 19:12. Wer Kennet die missethat?"

* Lecture on the Holman Foundation delivered at the Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa., Dec. 5, 1923.

3. The English translation is: "Concerning confession they teach that private absolution ought to be retained in the churches; although an enumeration of all our offenses is not necessary in confession. For this is impossible according to the declaration of the Psalmist: 'Who can understand his errors'? Ps. 19:12."

My first thought in this lecture is stated in the form of a question.

I. What is the Significance of Private Confession of Sin and Private Absolution?

In a general way Confession of Sins may be defined as an acknowledgment of sin or wrong doing which a Christian may make to God directly and alone; to a fellow Christian who is a layman, or to one who holds an ecclesiastical position.

Private or Auricular Confession, as generally understood, is the act of making this acknowledgment of sin into the ear of a priest in the confessional.

II. The Scriptural Teaching and The Historic Foundation underlying this Article.

The Genesis of this subject is as old as the fact of sin and the penitence of the sinner. Even a superficial examination of the most ancient ethnic religions reveals this most clearly.

Very definitely is this revealed in the Old Testament literature. Thus did Pharaoh confess to Moses and Aaron, saying—"I have sinned against the Lord your God and against you; now therefore, forgive, I pray thee my sin, only this once; and entreat the Lord your God for me". Achan confessed to Joshua and said—"I have sinned against the Lord God of Israel," Saul made confession unto Samuel and said, "I have sinned; for I have transgressed the commandment of the Lord and thy words. Now, therefore, I pray thee, pardon my sin, and turn again with me that I may worship the Lord". These are only a few of many instances found throughout the literature of the Old Testament.

Neander, the great historian, in writing of the control of the synagogue and priest over the conscience and life of the individual Jew, tells us that "Each Jewish synagogue, through its rulers and rabbi, exercised a disciplining judgment of this kind over their members".

John the Baptist was the living link between the revelation of God in the Old Testament Scripture and the revelation of God in the New Testament. As a result of his preaching in the wilderness all classes and conditions of men came to him, heard him preaching and were baptized of him in the Jordan, "*confessing their sins*". It is only logical to conclude that as each one personally and individually was baptized—so each one personally and individually confessed their sins. With keen discernment it has been said "John understood the desperate depravity of the human heart too well to have these multitudes go off in a sort of general mourning on account of sin. That deceitful thing which each man carries in his own bosom—that unfathomed abyss in which mortal plummet has never touched bottom, was not to be eased off in that way. Oh No! There was the Pharisee, that whited sepulchre; and the tax gatherer, that enormous cheat; and the soldier, that petty tyrant; and the King himself, that notorious adulterer, each one got personal attention and each one got his portion too in due season."

I think it altogether in harmony with the general teaching of the New Testament Scriptures to say that they know nothing of private confession and absolution as a formal institution. "Confess your faults one to another and pray one for another that ye may be healed" does not teach this doctrine.

On the other hand we must recognize the significance of the word of our Lord concerning the Power of the Keys and the definite statement which He made to Peter—"Whosoever sins ye remit—they are remitted". So that whilst the New Testament does not give it a place as a formal institution, yet there are elements which enter into the Scriptural basis of confession and absolution as found in the New Testament writings.

Dr. Wedekind sets forth this idea very definitely—"The Gospel makes immediate and complete provision for pardon and peace to the repentant and believing sinner. Three modes of Confession of sin are indicated. First—that made directly to God; secondly, that made to those who are 'stewards of God's mysteries' and who 'stand instead of Christ' and thirdly, that made by one believer to another. With the first two, the divine promise of pardon, on the condition of repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, is connected. With the last, no such direct promise is associated. The first is not questioned, the last is not under review; the second enters full sized into our discussion. It rests directly on the teaching of Christ Jesus Himself. He has in general appointed His Church as His almoner. In that Church He has appointed His representatives as the stewards of His mysteries. They are His ambassadors. To them is committed the word of reconciliation. Their commission reads thus—"All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth; go ye therefore into all the world'. 'As my Father hath sent me, so send I you. He that heareth you, heareth me. He that despiseth you, despiseth me'. 'And He breathed on them and said receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained'. These are solmen words.... They are the pregnant declaration of the omnipotent Christ. *It is an admitted fact that whatever Christ confided to His apostles as something belonging to His Church, could not and did not expire with their death.*¹

III. *The Romish Doctrine of Private Confession or Absolution.*

"The Power of the Keys" and "Apostolic Succession" through the Apostle Peter is one of the bases of the Romish doctrine of Private or Auricular Confession and Absolution. "Man thy sins are forgiven thee" (Luke 5:20)

¹ Dr. A. C. Wedekind—"Of Confession"—Lutheran Quarterly, Vol. VI, pp. 490-491.

and "He said unto her—thy sins are forgiven" (Luke 7:48) are words uttered by Christ Jesus Himself. This is the basis of ecclesiastical absolution—since the power resident in Christ personally he transmits to Peter and through him to all his successors. This is the pretentious claim of the Roman hierarchy.

A learned and eminent bishop of the Roman Church writes "The power of the Keys or the right of absolution and retention has been given by Christ to His apostles and to their lawfully consecrated successors. But this power cannot be effectively exercised without auricular confession. Therefore, by a necessary consequence from Holy Scripture, the religious obligation of auricular confession has been demonstrated.—By Auricular Confession is understood the declaration which the penitent sinner makes of his sins to a priest."²

Confession of sins into the ears of a priest is absolutely indispensable to the effectiveness of the power of the Keys; unless there is this auricular confession there can be no power of the Keys. This is the logic of the Roman position. It explains her insistence upon the confessional. It has always been one of the "chief pillars of the papacy."

Again. The Roman Church connects Confession of Sins with Penance and Absolution. This is of the utmost importance in her system of doctrine—because Penance is one of the "Seven Sacraments". As such it is necessarily exalted to a place of supreme importance. It is deemed a great virtue. "As a virtue it consists in sorrow for sin, a determination to forsake it and a purpose to make satisfaction to God. As a Sacrament it is instituted by Christ Himself for the remission of sins committed after baptism through the absolution of a priest having Jurisdiction. The *matter* of the Sacrament is the act of the penitent, including contrition, confession and satisfaction. By contrition is meant sorrow or remorse. It is not necessary that this contrition should be anything more than a natural, as distinguished

2 Faith of Catholics—Page 283.

from a gracious, exercise or state of mind; the confession included in this assumed sacrament *must be auricular*. It must include all mortal sin. A sin not confessed is not forgiven.—The absolution granted by the priest is not merely declarative, but judicial and effective. On this point the Roman Church teaches—First, that Christ blots out sin by the ministry of the priests; Secondly, that the priests sit as judges on the tribunal of repentance; Thirdly, that their sentence is confirmed in Heaven; Fourthly, that by virtue of this power, the priests are above angels and archangels themselves.”³

Rome is logical and consistent in her development of this doctrine. She exalts the Church and its power over the lives, consciences and conduct of the faithful. She strengthens the hands of her priesthood. Every one of the faithful must be in complete submission to him. If he remits sins, they are remitted. If he retains sins, they are retained. Not alone the actual sin, but the intention or temptation to sin must be confessed into his ears. To fail to do so is to have sin remain unforgiven. His power, given to him by Christ through Peter, raises him “above all angels and archangels.”

IV. *The Historic Development of Private Confession.*

Individual confession as a part of ecclesiastical discipline was customary very early in the history of the Church. It also served as a *voluntary* act of a distressed sinner who sought relief from the burdens of a guilty conscience and who naturally turned to the priest, his religious leader and guide, as the one who was pre-eminently qualified to hear the confession and minister the relief.

The exact period at which it began is not easy to determine. As has already been intimated the Romanist traces it back to the college of the Apostles. Most scholars attribute it to Origen in the third century.

It is apparent that ecclesiastical authority always desired it. It has always been a most effective weapon in

their hands against the independence of thought or action. The laity—as a rule—has opposed it. It was first a voluntary act encouraged by the priests. Then it was enforced on monks, nuns and the clergy and gradually forced on the laity as well, until it became the binding law of the Church. It was a gradual growth, voluntary at the beginning, but soon enforced with all the power of Rome, and woe be to him who resisted or refused.

“There is no evidence that Private Confession existed as a part of the cultus of the Church during the first Century of the Christian era. ‘The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,’ belonging to the second century, contains no allusions to Auricular Confession. It inculcates however a great reverence for religious teachers. It says (Chapt. 4) ‘my child, he that speaks to thee the word of God, remember night and day, and thou shalt honor him as the Lord; for where that which pertaineth to the Lord is spoken, there the Lord is’. The general confessions of Irenaeus, Tertullian and Cyprian of the third century, which have some times been quoted as favoring Auricular Confession, pertain really to the treatment of penitents. In the third century, however, it became the custom to appoint a special priest, whose duty it was to direct the exercises of penitents guilty of secret sins, which they voluntarily confessed to him. But on account of gross abuses the Patriarch Nectarius of Constantinople abolished the office A. D. 391. The practice, however, continued in the West, until Leo the Great, about the middle of the fifth century, introduced such changes in the mode of dealing with the penitents, that the office ceased to be important. He prohibited bishops from demanding public confession for secret sins; and in place of it introduced private confession which every priest was entitled to hear. But private confession was intended only for those mortal sins, which having been publicly committed, would, according to former canons, have required public penance. Jerome denounced as a piece of Pharisaical arrogance the assumption that the power of the Keys implied any judicial authority.

Whilst Leo claimed that the forgiveness of God could not be obtained without the intercession of the priests and guaranteed the efficacy, yet he did not venture to claim any judicial power for the Church.⁴

Up to the time of the Synod of Liege in 710 A. D.—there was no general canon requiring Private Confession. There were periods of time and sections of the Church in which the custom prevailed—but there was no general voluntary observance nor ecclesiastical requirement. But the Synod of Liege took very specific and definite action to the effect that every priest should confess privately once a week, every nun and monk once a month and every layman at least once a year, before receiving the Sacrament of the Mass.

Peter Lombard gave Private Confession and Absolution definite dogmatic sanction about 1155 A. D. In connection with this decree he said "Forgiveness is ever the work of God. The significance of absolution is only the announcement of what God has done". The Scriptural basis of his dogma was found in Matt. 8:4 "Go thy way—show thyself to the priest; also John 11:44—"And he that was dead came forth bound hand and foot with grave clothes; and his face was bound about with a napkin. *Jesus saith unto them Loose him, and let him go*".

After the laity had become accustomed to make confession at certain definite times, the natural development and logical sequence was to make regular Private Confession and Absolution the absolute law of the Church. The power of the Pope was steadily increasing and the exercise of that ecclesiastical power over the lives of the faithful was increasingly insistent and domineering.

This tendency came to a climax at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 when Private Confession and Absolution, at least once each year, was made *obligatory* upon all who had reached years of discretion. The exact language of the decree is—"The faithful of both sexes, after arriving at years of discretion, shall confess at least once each

⁴ Pres. Singmaster—"Confession" Page 338, Lutheran Quarterly, Vol. XXVIII.

year to their own priests, reverently receiving the Sacrament of the Eucharist at least at Easter and faithfully acknowledging in private all their sins".

At this time a significant change was made in the formula of absolution. Up to this time the formula had been that of intercession for divine absolution and the declaration of the same in the words, "Dominus Absolvat te". Now it was changed to the judicial and absolution was made the definite function of the priest in the formula "Ego te absolvo."

Even so scholarly and pious a man as Thomas Aquinas contended for the changed formula and wrote a brilliant apology in its defense, though he did later on qualify it with the statement "Solus Deus remittet culpam".

The penitent was assured of the secrecy of the priest, who was to be unfrocked and imprisoned for life in a monastery if he violated the seal of the confessional.

This is the first known canon which orders Sacramental Confession generally and may have been occasioned by the teachings of the Waldensians that neither confession nor satisfaction was necessary in order to obtain remission of sins.

The action of the Council of Trent is of outstanding importance because of the fact that it made Auricular Confession and private absolution part of the Sacrament of Penance. The exact language of the Canon of the Council of Trent is "To confess all and every mortal sin, which after diligent inquiry we remember and every evil thought and desire and the circumstances that changed the nature of the sin". The context of the action clearly reveals that the confession is meant to be auricular even though the language of the canon does not so state.

During the centuries intervening between this time and the Reformation and particularly during the Sixteenth century, the decrees of Synods frequently took action admonishing and exhorting the laity to confess more frequently. During this period there was a renewal of the previous decree requiring the clergy to confess once each week and nuns and monks once each month.

The Council of Trent further decreed that all canons and decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council were re-affirmed and emphasized. And further that as a matter of "good order confession must take place in the church and the confessional". This brings us in our study of the historic development of Private Confession and Absolution—up to the times of the Reformation.

The abuse of the practice of Auricular Confession, the unlimited power which the confessional placed in the hands of men, who were for the most part ignorant and sensual, caused such wickedness and evil that roused a protest on the part of the nobler minded and purer-souled priests and higher clergy. This abuse was one of the causes of the Reformation.

Lastyrie, a French Roman Catholic layman says that the abuses of the confessional became so flagrant in Spain that Pope Paul IV in 1563 issued a mandate to the Spanish inquisitors to investigate and punish all offenders. "This gave rise to such numerous denunciations of confessions, by women, that it took one hundred and twenty days to register them all."⁵ What was true of Spain was equally true of Italy, France, Portugal and elsewhere.

V. *Luther's Attitude Toward Private Confession.*

Luther's personal attitude toward Auricular Confession was that of gradual and definite progress along evangelical lines.

His natural disposition was to retain everything that was in accord with the Scriptures in the teaching and practice of his Mother Church. He desired to reform abuses *within* the Church but he did not want to *break with* the Church.

He saw clearly the many abuses which had grown up in the Church and some of the most serious ones with which he contended were connected with the practice of Auricular Confession.

Luther himself had made private confession and received private absolution. We know definitely that

5 Lastyrie—History of Auricular Confession

whilst in his cell at Erfurt, a fellow monk comforted and consoled Luther "with the holy absolution". As a priest of the Church in Wittenberg Luther heard private confession and administered private absolution.

As early as 1519 Luther wrote "There is nothing in the Church which needs reformation so much as confession and penance". He referred to it again and again in special writings as we shall see later on.

Luther contended against the existing confessional system because he disapproved the torture of the conscience in mentioning individual sin; because it had become a source of pecuniary gain to the priests; and because the unworthy demeanor and evil conduct of the medieval friars, who largely controlled the confessional, was most repugnant and offensive to him. There were other considerations to which reference will be made later on.

He did not, however, reject confession in itself. On the contrary he recognized no one, as a Christian, who withdrew entirely from confession.

In his "Lecture upon the Decalogue" he strenuously protests against such a minute analysis and classification of sins as to burden the memory of the people and weary the confessor. He does not consider it at all necessary to make exactly seven classes of mortal sins. Especially noteworthy is his declaration that it is not necessary to confess any inclination to pride unless one has yielded to it, since we are all constantly inclined in that direction; we ought, therefore, to mourn over it in secret and confess it before God. He maintains, moreover, *acedia* (disinclination to that which is good—indolence) being a spiritual infirmity is not a proper subject for the confessional, but is made known to God alone, who is the only one who can provide a remedy. Thus Luther assumes that there is at least a certain sphere of the inner life which may be exempt from the supervision of the confessional and that within this sphere the sinner may deal directly with God."⁶

Later on we see a further departure from the teach-

ing of the Roman Church, in its insistence upon auricular confession to the priest, and the emphasis upon the universal priesthood of all believers and the culmination in the full development of his views on Justification by faith.

In 1520 he wrote—"everything which is evangelical, Christian and of faith shall be free. Hence the people can come without force or law, but with desire and love. If anyone does not want to confess, he can stay away and tread the pope, princes, devils, laws, under foot and make private confession before God. But although I do not force, yet I advise that they gladly confess before going to the Sacrament."⁷

In 1522 he wrote—"if any one is burdened with sins and wishes to be absolved from them and to hear a sure word of comfort with which to quiet his heart—let him go and confess his sins to his brother privately and ask absolution and a word of consolation. If now he gives thee absolution and says thy sins are forgiven thee, thou hast a gracious and merciful Heavenly Father who will not impute to thee thy sins. * * * * believe this promise joyfully and be sure God will make good to thee, this promise through the mouth of thy brother."⁸

We see from this statement of Luther that he regarded confession as a voluntary matter and no one was to use constraint or compulsion "neither will I drive or force any one to it but leave it free" he writes. We now come to a further development.

If he assumes that the normal, regular and proper place for the reception of forgiveness is the confessional of the Church and that the general and regular administrators of the Power of the Keys are the priests, it is equally clear that he does not regard the dispensation of divine forgiveness as a matter committed to the priest alone. Already in the German *Sermon Vom Sacrament der Busse*, he places upon the same plane as that assigned to the official announcement of the priest, the declaration

⁷ Erlangen Edition 28:308

⁸ Erlangen Edition 28:250

made by any Christian brother who assures us of the divine grace. He declares where there is no priest, any Christian brother may do just as much; for when any Christian can say to thee, God forgives thy sins, in the name of Christ, and thou canst receive the word with an unwavering faith as though God spoke it to thee, thou are certainly absolved in this thy faith. So utterly and entirely does everything depend upon faith in the word of God."⁹

Again and again Luther places emphasis upon the fact that care should be taken lest we "becloud the grace of God" and imagine it to be impossible to free one's self from guilt by a complete confession into the ears of a priest and by performing deeds of penance. He also warns us against the thought that it is possible to recall to memory and confess all mortal sin. Again and again he makes the statement that we should place confidence only in God.

"Especially clear and impressive is his presentation of this prime duty in his "Confitendi Ratio" in which he explains that confession is for him a calling upon God to fulfill His promises, and an *exercise of Faith* which endeavors to lay hold upon the promises without doubting, in order that to the Lord may be all the glory. He even gives, with appeal to Gerson, the seemingly paradoxical counsel: we may now and then approach the altar without a scruple of conscience, i. e. without first confessing, even if we have gone somewhat beyond proper bounds in eating, drinking or speaking: this we may do, in order to accustom our conscience to depend entirely alone upon God and not to be alarmed at every falling leaf. Whether secret sins of the heart should also be confessed to the priest or only to God is an open question to him—an assault made by Eck had already served to bring into view the open opposition of the principles of Luther to those of the Roman Church as to the validity of the entire institution of auricular confession. He was charged with having maintained that the Sacramental confession

had no divine right; and though he had not demanded the abolition of auricular confession, yet he now must positively maintain the position *that it was not appointed by God, but only by the Church*. Even in the Church, he holds, it was not originally introduced, but only *public confession* according to Matt. 18. Finally, he repeats again, that he does not reject it, but only laments that it has been such a means of torture."¹⁰

So late as 1538 Luther wrote "I, Dr. Martin, myself sometimes go (to the Holy Communion) without having confessed, lest I lay a necessary custom on my conscience; yet I use confession and will not be deprived of it, chiefly on account of absolution which is the Word of God."¹¹

Luther was disposed to retain private confession for the purpose of Christian discipline and instruction, particularly for the sake of young people and those who were uneducated. He emphasized what might be described as the *pedagogic value* of the institution. In his *warnungsschrift* to the people of Frankfort (1533) he wrote "We hold that the confessant should confess such sins as burden him most. And this, we do, not for the sake of the intelligent; for our pastors, chaplains, Master Philip and such persons as know what sin is, do not require any such thing. But the dear young people are growing up and the common people understand but little. For those we retain the custom that *they may be brought under Christian discipline and instruction*."¹²

Another important divergence from the Romish dogma of auricular confession is made by Luther when he insists upon the penitent having firm faith in the word of God as a condition for forgiveness. "Every absolution both general and private is conditioned *by faith*. Without faith there is no absolution"—he writes.

Luther makes *the Gospel* the word of absolution, and not the statement of a priest. "Thou hearest the Gospel daily; what is this but the word of absolution. To preach

¹⁰ Köstlin's Theology of Luther, Vol. 1:Page 357

¹¹ Erlangen Edition 23:35

¹² Erlangen Edition 26:306

the Gospel is nothing else than to absolve and declare free from sin". This he emphasizes in his *Kirchenpostille*. "We do not teach confession as the papal theologians do, namely that sins must be enumerated (which alone the papists call confessing) or that one is worthy of forgiveness and absolution, because they say—'I absolve thee from thy sins on account of the penitence and confession'; but it should be made use of in order to hear the comfort of the Gospel, and to awaken and strengthen faith in the forgiveness of sins, which indeed is the chief thing in confession. Thus *confessing* is not, as with the papists, enumerating a long list of sins, but it is the desire for absolution which is confession enough, that is, the acknowledgment that thou art a sinner. It shall not be required to enumerate all or some, many or few sins."¹³

Luther's writings are filled with repeated references to our subject. Sometimes it is a *general* confession to which he refers and to which he gives the preference. In the Smaller Catechism¹⁴ it is said—"but if any one do not find himself oppressed by these or greater sins, let him not be anxious or hunt for imaginary sins and thus make a torture out of confession. But let him mention one or two which he knows, as that he has cursed or been unchaste in words or that he has been remiss in this or that. Let this suffice. But if thou knowest *none* (which is scarcely possible) then do not mention any in particular, but receive forgiveness after a general confession which thou makest before God to the confessor".

All this is in marked opposition to, and sharp conflict with, the Romish decree and dogma that every Christian shall confess *all* his sins at least once each year with the recital of the conditions and circumstances under which each sin was committed. To desire absolution and to acknowledge one's self a sinner, was, in the judgment of Luther, all that was necessary. The sense of contrition in the soul, the godly sorrow for sin, the clear recognition of the need of the Saviour's forgiveness, was ab-

¹³ Erlangen Edition 11:322

¹⁴ Erlangen Edition 21:19

solutely all that was needful. Hence Luther wrote—"we esteem and retain confession not for it's own sake, but on account of absolution. The golden jewel is that thou hearest the word preached, which Christ has commanded thee and all the world to preach in His name, that even if thou do not hear it in confession, yet thou hearest the Gospel daily which is the word of God and absolution."¹⁵

Absolution is the heart message of the Gospel. It is the declaration of the Scripture that the repentant sinner has his sin blotted out by the blood of Jesus Christ shed on Calvary for the sins of the world.

This proclamation of the promises of grace as set forth in the Gospel is a part of the power of the Keys. "But the Keys and their use are given to the entire Church. The Church is in the possession of the Gospel with the commission to preach and witness it. Every member of the Church, by virtue of his relation to Christ and as a believing priest has a right to use the Keys, that is the right to preach the Gospel and to declare the forgiveness of sins. Ordination has nothing to do, per se, with the administration of grace, or with the efficacious handling of the means of grace. It is the Word itself which brings forgiveness. It makes no difference, in effect, how the word reaches the penitent."¹⁶ Luther himself gave expression to this thought in these statements—"I say further, and warn, that no one confess privately to a priest as such, but as to a common brother and Christian, and for the reason that the papal confession has no foundation. Let us not build upon the sand, but confess in the power of the words of Christ, whether we confess to a layman or to a priest. God has called and appointed thy pastor, father, mother, thy Christian neighbor and has put His Word in their mouths, that thou mightest seek comfort and forgiveness of sins from them. Hence every Christian is a confessor in private confession,

¹⁵ Erlangen Edition II:322

¹⁶ Prof. J. N. W. Richard—"The Lutheran Church and Private Confession"—Page 5.

which the pope, the high thief, has seized, as he has seized the keys, episcopacy and everything else."¹⁷

Luther did not limit the choice of the confessor, since in effect absolution is ever the same, whether declared by a layman or a priest. But as the pastor is the official organ of the Church, so ought he to be the confidant of all the fellow members of the Church. "We all have this power, but no one should take it upon themselves to use it publicly unless he be chosen thereto by the congregation. But privately I may employ it; as when my neighbor comes and says, 'my conscience is burdened. Give me absolution.' This I may do freely, but privately, I say, it must be done, for if I should thrust myself into the church and likewise others, and we should also hear confession, how would it look?"¹⁸

The Gospel *always* bears its own message of grace whether it be heard from the lips of priest or layman. There is no specific difference. It is Christ Who is speaking in both cases. He and He alone absolves. The priest or layman is simply His mouthpiece. He is the *channel* through which streams of mercy flow. He is the golden pipe through which the sacred oil is conducted. He is the purse, which not in itself maketh a man rich, yet most effectually enriches him by that which it contains. "When I hear the word of Christ and have absolution, I shall not be troubled because the pope has not absolved me, since he has no title from Scripture for private confession: yea, it follows that private confession, reproof, correction for sins are taken from the priests and given to the entire congregation and to each one."¹⁹

Private confession is thus a privilege based on individual need. Private absolution is thus the exercise of a right belonging to every Christian and based on the general priesthood of Christians.

One of the finest and most satisfactory statements is that of Prof. Jacoby: "So then Luther did not wish to

17 Erlangen Edition 27:376 and 578

18 Erlangen Edition 11:348

19 Erlangen Edition 11:348

abolish Private Confession, but he did undermine its dogmatic roots. It should remain as a pedagogical institution, which has in view partly the instruction and religious training of the untutored, and partly it should furnish an opportunity for the exercise of pastoral care over the consciences of members of the congregation. Especially should private confession precede the celebration of the Lord's Supper and be a means by which the unworthy could be excluded from the Sacrament. So in the 'Instruction to Visitors' in which it is written 'yet it would be well if the people were exhorted to receive the Sacrament. Also no one should be admitted to the reception of the venerable Sacrament except he be first heard and questioned so that no dishonor be done to the body of Christ'. The standpoint occupied by Luther was tenable so long as the pastor enjoyed a patriarchal influence, and in so far as exemplary men, endowed with gifts of spiritual discernment, discharged the duties of the ministry. But who could compel any one whom the pastor regarded as needing private confession to submit to it when he himself believed he could dispense with it, and when the growing self consciousness of the congregation should oppose the rule of the pastor. And who could guarantee that the pastor might not be in error? The judgments of Luther on Private Confession show plainly that in the soil of the Evangelical Church, it can not flourish and that it bears in itself the seeds of death."²⁰

President Singmaster summarizes Luther's attitude with clearness and definiteness in these words: "Luther's final rejection of Romish confession rested upon dogmatic grounds which may be summarized as follows and which might be illustrated with abundant quotations:

1. It was not voluntary, but enforced as a duty.
2. It was limited to a particular time in the Easter season.
3. It required the enumeration of every sin.
4. It made repentance to consist of contrition, con-

fession and satisfaction, while faith and consolation are barely mentioned.

5. It separated contrition entirely from faith and made even a half contrition called *attritio*, to suffice.
6. It rested absolution upon the sufficiency of contrition and thus made it uncertain.
7. It rested satisfaction not upon the renewal of spiritual life, but on senseless works of man's invention.²¹

As over against the Romish dogma of Auricular Confession, Luther proposes, substantially, the following statements concerning Private Confession and Private Absolution from the Evangelical standpoint:

1. Private Confession is a purely voluntary matter.
2. The enumeration of sins is not necessary.
3. The universal priesthood of believers gives every Christian the right to pronounce absolution.
4. Absolution is simply the proclamation of the Gospel declaring the forgiveness of sins.
5. The Confession includes two parts—acknowledgment of sins and absolution.
6. Private Confession is helpful for purposes of discipline and instruction.
7. The *validity* of absolution does not depend on the absolver and his character, but on the Word spoken.
8. The *efficacy* of absolution is conditioned on the faith in Christ of the penitent.
9. The *effect* of absolution is the comfort of conscience and the peace of pardoned sin.
10. That it is not commanded by the Scripture but is a helpful institution of the Church if rightfully understood and properly conducted.

VI. *The Teachings of The Confession of the Lutheran Church.*

All of the Confession contain numerous references to

²¹ Pres. Singmaster—"Confession"—P. 343.

the matter of Private Confession and Absolution. We shall refer to only a comparatively few as showing the general trend and harmony on this subject.

In 1523 is his "Formula for the Lord's Super" Luther had written "Of private confession before Communion I hold as I have hitherto taught, that it is not necessary nor to be exacted, though it is useful and not to be condemned."

Until 1525 members were allowed to come to the Sacrament at Wittenberg without having confessed. But in order to check certain abuses which had become prevalent in coming to the Sacrament as a mere habit, it was announced to the congregation that henceforth a confessional examination would be held with each proposed communicant. At this time the *Beichtinstitut* through which admission had been gained to the Sacrament was restored—with the idea of making it an inquiry into the religious intelligence and faith of the Communicant.

In harmony with this new principle it is now required in "*The Instruction to the Visitors*" that no one shall be admitted to the Holy Sacrament who has not been examined in private by his own pastor as to whether he be prepared to go to the Holy Sacrament. For St. Paul says that they are guilty of the body and blood of Christ who receive it unworthily. (I Cor. 11:27) Now not only do they dishonor the Sacrament who receive it unworthily, but also they who administer it unworthily. For the common people run to the Sacrament from custom and do not know why the Sacrament should be used. Now who-soever does not know this should not be admitted to the Sacrament. In order to use the Sacrament in connection with such an examination, the people should be exhorted to confess, that they may be instructed where they have erred in conscience and may receive comfort where their hearts are truly penitent, if they receive absolution."²²

The purpose of this principle is clearly disciplinary and pedagogic. It was used as a means of instruction as to the real meaning of the Sacrament and also to ascer-

²² Erlangen Edition 23:40

tain any who were not worthily prepared to receive The Sacrament.

In the Torgau Articles it is stated, in very simple form, "Confession is not abolished. But it is maintained with such great earnestness that the pastors are enjoined not to communicate the Holy Sacrament to any who have not previously been examined and sought absolution."²³

The article of the Augsburg Confession under discussion in this paper is clear and explicit—Private Confession and Absolution were to be retained by the Church, though it is neither necessary nor possible to enumerate all transgressions and sins. And Article Four on Abuses says "Confession is not abolished by our preachers. For this custom is maintained among us not to communicate The Sacrament to those who have not first been examined and absolved".

The Apology contains this statement "Among us the people use The Sacrament of their own accord and without constraint every Sunday, *when they have been previously examined*, as to whether they are instructed in Christian doctrine".

In the Augsburg Confession, The Apology to The Augsburg Confession, in the Schwabach and Torgau Articles, Confession is spoken of solely in connection with the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

"It was the design of the Reformers to state in the XI Article (of the Augsburg Confession) that private absolution which has private confession as its antecedent and pre-supposition, should be retained in the Church *as a preparation for The Sacrament*, and it is in this sense that Articles XI and XXV have been historically understood and applied in the Lutheran Church, without, however, excluding the idea that persons may, on other occasions, go to the pastor for private instruction and private absolution.—The practice in Wittenberg from 1525 on, and the Instructions to The Visitors had now determined the use of the institution for the Lutheran Church. Winer is entirely correct in the observation that although the Evangelical Church holds confession not to be a law

of Christ, and therefore not as essentially necessary, it has nevertheless retained it as a permanent institution, mainly on account of its connection with absolution. As such it is always the preparation for the Lord's Supper.²⁴

The Schmalkald Articles firmly maintain private confession and absolution and require that communicants shall not be permitted to receive The Holy Sacrament unless this has first been done.

The general teaching of the Confessions of the Lutheran Church concerning private Confession and private absolution is admirably summed up by Prof. Gimwich in the following discriminating manner. "Private Confession and absolution have been retained in the Lutheran Church as wholesome ecclesiastical ordinances, without any sacramental character; still they are not insisted on as absolutely necessary, and their effect is, in fact, made dependent on inner consciousness. The Evangelical Church does not mistake the blessings of the open expression of that which oppresses the heart, and the wholesome opportunity for the care of the souls which the hearing of confession offers to youth; but the law of auricular confession, which demands the enumeration of all separate sins before the priest, as a condition of absolution, is expressly rejected, because it demands that which is impossible, favoring a false representation of the essence of sin, and disquieting to the conscience (Conf. Aug. XI., Apol. VI., School III. 8;) Absolution in itself is nothing else than the application of the Gospel, the declaration of the will of God to the penitent and believing sinner that He will forgive sins, for Christ's sake. 'Absolution is a voice of the Gospel by which we receive consolation and is not a judgment of the law.' It is no *annuntiatio judicaria* of the confessor, as a spiritual judge—(God is the Judge)—whose judgment is made known in the conscience, but only the *declaration* of a minister of the Word, and merly hypothetical, absolution being only possible on condition of believing."²⁵

²⁴ Prof. J. A. Richard, D.D.—"The Lutheran Church and Private Confession"—Page 13

²⁵ Christian Creeds and Confessions, Pp 88 and 89

According to Chemnitz, who has been called "The Prince of Lutheran Theologians", who was a profound scholar and devout Christian, the following reasons are given for the retention of confession before Communion:

1. That the pastor may ascertain whether his people have right views of the principal doctrines of the Christian religion; and if they have not, that he may have the opportunity of instructing them.

2. That he may discover whether they are truly penitent, and that he may teach them the nature and consequences of sin and the nature of true repentance.

3. That he may know the character of their faith, the ground and earnestness thereof, and with whom, and through whom, they seek forgiveness; and that in this interview he may explain the nature of true faith and the importance of self examination.

4. That he may learn the character of their resolutions of amendment and explain the nature and urgency thereof.

5. That he may be able in the most fitting manner to bring counsel and comfort to burdened and sorrowing consciences.

6. That the Absolution may be sought, received and used in true repentance through faith.

Because as these things are necessary, having the approval of God's word and command, it is clear that such a confession has a good foundation. And when the people are properly instructed in these things, they will cheerfully, and without complaint and compulsion, come to such confession for their own good. And the pastors may also very readily inform themselves from these things how they should deal with those who confess."²⁶

VII. Post Reformation Attitude.

At least two distinct trends of thought and two definite movements characterize the latter part of the Reformation Period and Post-Reformation period. The

first of these two trends of thought is very fully revealed in the "*Kirchenordnungen*" or Church Orders, and the other movement is seen in the gradual disuse and the final neglect, if not the repudiation of, Private Confession.

"In the Church Orders one misses the evangelical freedom which was manifested in the earlier Lutheranism and sees instead the hand of authority. The princes are the *summi episcopi* and the theologians are their servants. Hence while the orders maintain evangelical doctrine, they make additions in *Ordnungsform*, from another principle, the principle of state-churchism. The doctrine is the same, but it is now applied under the conceptions of law."²⁷

The following is taken from the Lippe Order of 1538. "The Scriptures show us three kinds of confession: *The so-called divine*, which is made privately or secretly to God, as when the heart of man is alarmed, threatened and anguished. Such was the confession of David, Ps. 19:23; 32; 51; 69. The *second* is that confession which is made to men, and is entrusted to the holy office of preaching, as preaching the Word, administering the Sacraments, loosing and binding, remitting and retaining sin. Such a confession is shown in Matt. 16:19; John 20, and is necessary and salutary. The *third* is called fraternal confession, which by command of God is received from a Christian and is mentioned in Matt. 5:17; Luke 17; James 6."²⁸

The Brunswick Order of 1543, under confession and Absolution says, "Auricular Confession is not enjoined by God; hence it is not necessary in the sense that thou canst not be saved without confession. As the servants of Christ so we must teach and confess. Though such Auricular Confession is not commanded neither is it forbidden—hence we can use Auricular Confession in a very good, believing and Christian way."²⁹

27 Prof. J. W. Richard—The Lutheran Church and Private Confession—Page 18

28 Richter's Kirchenordnungen II Page 495

29 Richter's Kirchenordnungen II Page 59.

A general, public confession was used by some of the Churches immediately after the sermon "as a necessary part of the liturgy, *but did not regard this as a proper preparation, for the Lord's Supper. The private act of confession and absolution was required as the precursor of the Lord's Supper.*"³⁰

"In some countries, as in Pomerania, the *public* confession was actually forbidden and only private confession was allowed. 'The Church enacted by law, that no one should be admitted to the Eucharist without Private Confession and Absolution' says Daniel, who quotes in support of his statement from the Prussian Agenda in 1525, from the Wittenberg Consistorial Order of 1544. The latter says: 'Without the antecedent confession and necessary examination and instruction of each one separately, no one shall be admitted to the Sacrament. In the Cologne Reformation, 1534, we read: "Private Confession shall be retained and for the retention of Christian Absolution we earnestly command the pastors and administrators of the Sacrament to admit no one who has not first received Private Absolution from his pastor or other regular ministrant of the Sacrament'. The same, in essence, is found in the Bremen Order of 1534 and in the Pomeranian Statuta Syndica it is enacted that the communicants shall come to the Vespers, hear an exhortation on confession and thus prepare themselves for the use of the Sacrament. Nor shall any one be admitted to the Sacrament who has not attended the exhortation. Private Absolution shall be observed with great care and each confessant is to be heard separately. If more come than can be heard *privatam* at one time, the pastor shall exhort some to return the next Saturday. If a minister of the Word of God should wish to commune, let him first seek absolution from a colleague or neighboring minister except that in cases of necessity it may be different. Such was the law that prevailed widely, if not universally in Central and Northern Germany. Confession became what Von Zeszchivitz called *Glaubens examen*—an

30 Daniel, Cod. Lit. II., Page 352

inquiry into the faith of the communicant. The object was to ascertain whether he had correct views of Christian doctrine and especially of the Holy Sacrament itself, and was prepared to receive the Holy Sacrament without condemnation. The object was, in itself, entirely worthy but it was reached through these orders by two radical and significant departures from primitive Lutheranism.³¹

These "Orders" require that the confession shall be made to one's own pastor, or to some other regular minister. "This imparts to confession, features of formality and officialism". It is no longer a personally sought, free and voluntary act, based on confidence in some one and a sense of need. It really sets at nought the precious truth of the universal priesthood of all believers by making it an official act to an official priest. They also "changed a matter of Christian freedom into an ecclesiastical law. They do not claim divine authority for Private Confession, yet no one was admitted to the Communion except through Private Confession. This was contrary to the example and intention of Luther" (Ibid). It was a most re-actionary movement and for a time threatened serious trouble, if not disaster, to the cause of Protestantism in the Lutheran Church, because of the Romish spirit of ecclesiasticism and the constraint and compulsion of law. In the latter part of the Sixteenth and the first part of the Seventeenth centuries Private Confession became the sole prevailing ordnungsform in the Lutheran Church of Saxony, Pomerania, Mecklenberg and other parts; the Saturday afternoon Confessional Vesper Service, among these Lutherans, grew to the complete parallel of the mediaeval "Beicht gottes dienst" or Ash Wednesday.

But whilst this condition was true of the large section of the Church already referred to, yet in other sections Private Confession and Private Absolution were entirely abolished. Toward the close of the Seventeenth century this tendency became more pronounced and general.

³¹ Prof. J. W. Richard "The Lutheran Church and Private Confession" Pages 20 and 21

Both the doctrine and the formula of Private Confession and Absolution were investigated and discussed. The authority for, and the value of, Private Confession was generally attacked. There was a constantly increasing mistrust, if not actual antagonism toward Private Confession. It is well known that in several Protestant countries, as in Sweden, Denmark, Holland and in several parts of upper Germany, (private) Confession was entirely abolished.³²

General Confession, in a public service was soon allowed by authorities to serve as a substitute. The reaction was inevitable. The pendulum had swung to the extreme limit from an evangelical standpoint. A marked re-action was absolutely unavoidable.

Private Confession and Absolution had been rejected, and public confession of a general character had been substituted for the same since the sixteenth century, in Wurtemberg. In 1657 in Saxony the change was made from the private to the general public confession. The change was made in Brandenburg by the decree of the Elector in 1698. All the other state churches followed the action of the Elector of Brandenburg, except Mecklenburg, where private confession was never officially abandoned. As time went on, the practice of public confession became more and more general—until it was practically universally observed.

VIII. Concluding Reflections.

Wide, deep and fixed as is the gulf between the Romish Auricular Confession and priestly Absolution, and Protestant Private Confession and Absolution, as set forth in the symbols of the Lutheran Church, there were not a few who feared that the chasm might be bridged. By non-Lutheran Protestants of the Reformation period Luther was still regarded as being in partial bondage to the Roman Church and largely, though perhaps unconsciously, influenced by it. He was born and faithfully

reared in it. He had been a monk and a priest of the Church. Its doctrine and teaching was in his very flesh and blood, mind and heart and soul. He could not wholly free himself of its influence.

There is a modicum of truth in all this. Luther had no thought, intention or purpose of inaugurating a new religious movement—of establishing a new Church. He wanted to reform the abuses within the Church. He wanted to restore the Word of God to its rightful place in the Church. He justly wanted to retain everything that was good and right in Romanism. He was not a senseless iconoclast. He was not a brainless destructionist.

He knew, from personal experience, that there was much of good in private confession, stripped of its abuses. He wanted to keep all that was not in opposition to the Scripture. Hence the Eleventh Article of the Augsburg Confession.

Writing of the inestimable value of confession and absolution to young and inexperienced Christians—he says “if we duly appreciated the subduing and humbling influences which this confession has upon the heart, we would dig for it in the earth and travel a thousand miles to secure it. I would not suffer it to be taken away from me, no, not for all the wealth of the whole world; for I know the strength and comfort I have myself derived from it. I would have been completely overwhelmed by Satan and unbelief, but for this institution.” John Arndt, whose piety and devotion to God and his church no one calls into question, traced his acquaintance with the human heart and a large measure of his success, to the conscientious discharge of this duty. And the popularity of his *True Christianity* is greatly owing to what he learned in the confessional.

Of the saintly Louis Harms it is said that he often spent nine hours a day in these private conferences with his people. Is it any wonder that such results followed as are recorded of Herrmansburg?³³

33 Dr. A. C. Wedekind—“Of Confession” *Lutheran Quarterly* October 1876—Page 500.

Tholuck regarded its discontinuance as one of the "injuries and wounds of the Church" and appealed to the Theological students to whom he lectured—"ye that are to be ministers of the Word in time to come, regard it as your vocation to heal these wounds of the Church and to restore to it *Private Confession*, not Auricular Confession which this article rejects."³⁴

Martensen says: "It is a matter of regret that private confession, as an institution, has fallen into disuse; that the objective point of union is wanting for the many, who want to unburden their souls by confession not to God only, but to a fellow man and who feel their need of comfort and forgiveness, which any one may indeed draw for himself from the Gospel, but which, in many instances he may desire to hear spoken by a man who speaks in virtue of the authority of his holy office.—It can not easily be denied that confession meets a deep need of human nature. There is a great psychological truth in the saying of Paschal, that a man attains often for the first time a true sense of sin and a true stayedness in his good purpose when he confesses his sins to his fellow-man as well as to God."³⁵

A splendid and convincing testimony is that given by one who might be called a conservative pietist, Pastor Buschel of Berlin: "In the midst of this great awakening the felt necessity of private confession became apparent. Among the old Lutherans it had been generally observed. At first but few came; gradually the number increased. These were trying and weighty hours for me. Each one desired to see me alone, and if possible, unobserved by others. Hence not a few came after ten o'clock at night. The minute details with which they entered into their sinful course of life, consumed much time so that it was frequently long after midnight before I could lay aside my clerical robes and seek rest for my exhausted body. We often speak of the comparative innocence of the rural population; but what abominations and crimes were re-

34 Krauth—"The Augsburg Confession" Page 79

35 Martensen—Dogmatics Pages 444-445

vealed to me—Great was the anxiety of those who remembered their offenses against departed ones. Nearly everybody spoke of sins committed against parents long since buried. *Through this private confession I obtained not only a clearer and fuller insight into the workings of human depravity and the deceitfulness of the human heart in GENERAL, but also of my own heart in particular.* No where and on no occasion did I feel greater impulses to earnest and importunate prayer. My agitation often became so great that the live-long night I could not close an eye. There is something in the intercourse with souls in deep distress that awakens our sympathies to such an extent as to make us participants of their anxieties and bearers of their burdens."³⁶

There are, at least some, who think that a modified form of private confession and absolution would be most helpful to the spiritual life of the Church today. That in pulling up the tares of Auricular Confession some good wheat also has been destroyed. The thoughtful and unprejudiced mind will cheerfully concede that some good things have been lost by the complete discontinuance of any form of Private Confession and Private Absolution.

Professor Dr. Walther, late of the St. Louis Theological Seminary, writes—"The Gospel is a universal absolution, brought from heaven to the whole world by man, sealed with the blood and death of Christ, and confirmed by God Himself, most grandly and solemnly in the glorious Resurrection of our Saviour. And just because the Gospel is an absolution of all men, on account of the perfect redemption of the Word, which is already accomplished, therefore a minister of the Gospel, may and shall, in the name of God assure each and every man, who, as a poor sinner desires forgiveness, of the remission of his sins. Denying the minister this pre-rogative is denying him the power of proclaiming the Gospel in its entirety and completeness. For whosoever believes, with all his

³⁶ Buschel—"Erinnerungen aus dem Leben eines Land geistlichen—Vol. I. Page 262

heart that Christ has blotted out the sins of all men, how can he take exceptions to Christ's minister saying to a man who professes to believe in Christ: Thy sins are forgiven thee".

Absolution, without sincere repentance and honest confession, with true faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, is not only an empty form, but a hollow mockery. Absolution to a contrite, repentant, confessing sinner, with faith in Jesus Christ, is simply the declaration of the Gospel.

After quoting from a number of pastors and religious educators, President Singmaster writes—"The testimony of the eminent authorities cited in this lecture is entirely confirmed by a pastoral experience of more than twenty years, if you will allow a modest reference to my humble work in the ministry. Nothing gives the pastor better assurance of the real success of his work, than when his people ask him privately the old momentous question—"What must I do to be saved?" or tell him of some sin or sorrow that rests upon them. Nothing so binds him to his people as this manifestation of his purity, sincerity, sympathy and wisdom. But when no one is moved or emboldened to unburden his heart to the pastor—it ought to be a source of profound concern to him. Has he been too cold? Has his preaching been quickened by the divine fire? Has his best thought been given to something else? Let him ponder. Let him cast himself upon his face before his Lord. God has made His ministers to be His ambassadors, not only to the entire congregation, but to the individual soul. Ah—to meet one soul alone, to lead it into light and peace—there is no grander work. The pastor will learn more of others, of himself, of the Bible, of grace, and of God, in one personal interview, than in weeks of study. He will be able to help that soul more in an hour than by years of preaching."³⁷

Dr. John Watson (Ian Maclaren) in one of his books writes: "The pastor must give much of his time to *con-*

sultation, ("What's in a name") and it is likely that he will have to give more every year. It is the custom of Protestants to denounce the confessional and not without cause but it would be wise to remember that there are times and moods and circumstances when every person desires to open his heart to some brother man, when some persons can not otherwise get relief. To whom are these persons to go? What they want is one who has had a wide experience of life, who is versed in human nature, who is accustomed to keep secrets, who has faith in God and man, whose office invites and sanctions confidence. Who fulfills those conditions so perfectly as the minister of God? And is it not good that there is within reach one ordained to be a friend unto every one who is lonely and in distress of mind."³⁸

Many souls will gladly bear testimony to the value of such a confessional as that which Dr. Watson suggests. It would be well if pastors would arrange for an evening every week, or every two weeks, when burdened souls may call to see him for conference, comfort, consolation and the evening held sacred to such purpose. Every pastor will rejoice in the memory of many precious hours so spent with burdened and anxious souls.

In the impressive, beautiful and Scriptural liturgical service for the morning worship in our beloved Church, we have a real and precious Confession and Absolution. After the *minister and congregation have united in the Confession of Sins*, the pastor declares the following Absolution:

"Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, hath had mercy upon us, and hath given His only Son to die for us, and for His sake forgiveth us all our sins; to them that believeth on His name, He giveth power to become the sons of God, and hath promised them His Holy Spirit. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. Grant this, Lord, unto us all. Amen".

As pastors—let us make full use of this beautiful service each Lord's Day morning.

The Service Preparatory to the celebration of the Holy Communion is one of great blessing and privilege also. It is the Protestant Confessional and has a deep spiritual and Scriptural significance. The Confession of Sins and the Declaration of Absolution are wholly in accord with the teaching of the Scriptures. As Pastors—emphasize the importance of this service. Have your people feel that they should not come to the Holy Communion unless they have first attended a Preparatory Service. In the church in which I have the honor and privilege of being pastor, this conception is practically universally held and observed. It deepens the appreciation of the communicant of the privilege of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and gives that preparation of mind and heart which is so essential to the worthy reception of the Holy Sacrament.

Let us cherish with intelligent devotion this priceless heritage of our Church.

Altoona, Pa.

Note.—The author gratefully acknowledges the loan of valuable books from the Seminary Library and that of the President.

ARTICLE II.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM—A CONTRADICTION IN TERMS.*

BY MRS. B. L. ROBINSON.

I wish to confess at the outset that I have regretted more than once having chosen Christian Socialism as my subject for today. Knowing something of Socialism, I was convinced that *Christian* Socialism was a contradiction in terms, but I had not fully realized how much that was revolting was hidden behind the name. In studying the matter I have felt as I did when, as a child, I turned over a beautiful, clean white stone, and found it alive on the under side with crawling slimy things. But now is not the time to close our eyes to the dangers which menace our country and our civilization because they are unpleasant; and I only beg of you to remember that the disagreeable things which I shall tell you today are not of my *making*—only of my *finding*.

Having lived in a university atmosphere two thirds of my life, I have long known how widespread radicalism is in our schools and colleges. Just how widely it has spread in the churches I had not realized. Friends of mine in different towns have told me that they had stopped going to church, as they could not accept socialism instead of Christianity from the pulpit. One said, "I have to pray hard when I get home to offset the effect the sermon has on me." And another said, "It is a misery for me to go to church. Our minister is so socialistic that I am in constant terror for fear my husband will get up and refute his statements." But these might have been sporadic cases of socialism in the pulpit. Unfortunately they are not.

*An address delivered by Mrs. B. L. Robinson, President of the Massachusetts Public Interests League, before that association on February 23, 1923.

When Captain W. B. Estes, imprisoned in Russia for a year by the Bolsheviks under unspeakable conditions was released, a Commissar said to him: "When you get back to America you will find that we have put our propaganda in your schools, your colleges, your women's organizations, your churches, and your clubs," and he added the significant statement, "Where we cannot convince we will confuse". The work of the Communists in confusing the minds of Americans has been fully as successful as their propaganda, which has assumed appalling proportions, their membership in the United States being to-day practically as large as in Russia.

A brilliant series of articles on Socialism in the churches, to which every student of the question is greatly indebted, has appeared in the National Civic Federation Review. In one of these articles (May 10, 1920) the reason why this "campaign for confusion" has been so successful is analyzed as follows: "Directed by minds of peculiar subtlety and cunning, by leaders whose intellects are more oriental than Anglo-Saxon, masters of craft, resourcefulness and hypocrisy, the Socialist party has for years sought to influence different classes of people and meet varying conditions. To the general public it has sought through camouflage and beguiling phraseology to conceal its real character, and appear pacific and humanitarian. It has, for instance, specialized in propaganda specifically designed to influence church people, and has not hesitated to employ New Testament phraseology, the terms of Christian justice and brotherhood of man. Repudiating violence, disclaiming any unlawful and unjust methods or purposes among one class of people, it has, on the other hand—for instance, in its Yiddish propaganda for distribution among Russian Jews,—sought to inflame by outright incitements to revenge, violence and bloody revolution. Another phase of its propaganda, carried on mainly through the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, has been adapted to meet another condition and to appeal to educators, college professors, and all students. To create confusion in the public mind has been

one of its chief purposes. Its entire propaganda, protean to a bewildering degree, yet masterful, able and amazingly effective, has been inevitably confusing to the Western mind, which is open and direct, and which finds it difficult to think in the terms, and to follow the casuistical, cunning and machiavellian workings, of the asiatic intellect of a Trotzky or a Hillquit." This view is confirmed by the Communist periodical called the "Workers Dreadnaught" (Dec. 31, 1921, p. 6) which says, sardonically: "O Comrade Lenin, with your tortuous Eastern tactics, you are corrupting these simple westerners, who do not understand you, and whose metal is softer than yours." The tragedy of the success of their propaganda in the church is that those clergymen who expound it as "applied Christianity", who promote its propaganda in Gospel phraseology, are deceiving their followers into supporting a movement set upon the destruction not only of all that Christian civilization upholds, but of Christianity itself.

The number of people both in and out of the Church whose minds are totally confused as to the relation between Socialism, Communism and Bolshevism is appalling. Such statements as these are constantly heard: "I suppose Bolshevism is pretty bad, but of course Socialism is all right;" or "Communism and Bolshevism, you know, have nothing in common;" or "There are so many kinds of Socialism that of course you can't say you are opposed to 'Socialism.'"

Such confusion of thought should not be allowed to pass by people who know better. It is as though one should say that the Baptist, Congregational and Presbyterian churches have nothing in common. The plain, simple fact is that Socialism, Communism and Bolshevism are all based on the same thing—that is, the philosophy of Karl Marx. Among themselves the radicals make no attempt to deny the identity. For instance, the majority report on International Relations of the Socialist Party in this country made at the New York Convention of 1920 said: "Socialism is in complete control in the

great country of Russia." Morris Hillquit, leader of the Socialist Party, said that between the Socialist Party and the revolutionary left wings there was no difference on vital questions or principles, but merely minor differences as to tactics. The New York Call of May 14, 1917 said editorially: "Lenin is after all nothing but an ordinary Socialist, with the ordinary Socialist program of social revolution everywhere throughout Europe as his object."

Lincoln Steffens, one of the leading Socialist propagandists in this country, in his introduction to a book by Trotsky, speaks of him as an "orthodox Marxian Socialist", and the same Mr. Steffens in speaking to a convention of Christian Socialists at Rev. Percy Grant's church in New York, said: "The idea of the Bolshevik is, we will not only *think* Socialism, *talk* Socialism, but we will *do* Socialism." Bolshevism to him was merely Socialism in action—and he was applauded by these Christian Socialists. Those who have been confused on this subject should brush the cobwebs from their brains and face the fact that Bolshevism is only Socialism in action, that it is the Communist Party which is in control of Russia and which is trying to force Bolshevism upon the world—in other words, that Socialism, Communism and Bolshevism are one.

Some of you are probably thinking, "But these good people who call themselves Christian Socialists must certainly have a wholly different conception of what socialism really is;" some of them have, no doubt, but many of their leaders seem quite ready to accept the Socialism of the Socialists. For instance:

The Joint Commission on Social Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church in a report to the General Convention of the Church at Detroit in 1919, said: "The modern reader is no longer interested in Marx's dialectics, but is compelled to recognize that the central position for which he stood is not only tenable, but is really impregnable."

Remember that Karl Marx was an avowed atheist and

that his system is anti-religious. Marx's philosophy interprets all human life, all history, all heroic and noble deeds as having been inspired by nothing more than the two most carnal urges of mankind—the urge of hunger and of sex. The Socialists know, if the Christians do not, that this philosophy is absolutely incompatible with religion. In the account of the State of Michigan Socialist Convention at Grand Rapids of Feb. 24, 1919, John R. Ball reports in their periodical, the "Communist" of Chicago: "A Socialist who understands the materialistic conception of history cannot have faith in superstition of any kind. In other words, *a religious or Christian Socialist is a contradiction of terms.*"

Bukharin, one of the leading authorities on the Red Philosophy, says in "The A B C of Communism": "There are some soft-headed Communists who say that their religion does not prevent them from being Communists. They say that they 'believe both in God and in Communism.' Such a view is fundamentally wrong; religion and Communism do not go together either in theory or in practice. Between the precepts of Communism and those of Christianity there is an impassable barrier."

One of the rallying cries of the Soviet army is: "We have abolished God." Lenine in the "Communist International" recently urged on Communists everywhere the duty of making "militant atheism" an essential part of their doctrine.

There has been a strong movement in several of the churches to ally themselves with radical labor. A similar movement was started recently in Australia, but there its leaders (the Congregational Union Committee) took the precaution to make a preliminary investigation as to whether there was anything to prevent an understanding between church workers and labor representatives for co-operative service in the cause of the common welfare. This committee found that in the opinion of the labor leaders, the best country is a godless country. These leaders believe that if Bolshevism can be achieved there will be no need of religion, and they made the

magnanimous offer that "if religion will pass out quietly without any fuss" their attitude will be that of "benevolent tolerance," but if it resists they will "hasten religious exit with violence proportionate to its resistance."

The men who made this statement are said to be the official leaders of the labor movement. (See editorial "Bolshevism in Australia" in Boston Herald, Jan. 27, 1923). Evidently the Congregational Union Committee has taken a sober second thought in regard to allying the churches with this element. The Christian Socialists of England and America are not to be deterred by such considerations, as we shall see.

How widespread their movement has been in this country is shown by a report written by the Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtiss, National Secretary of the Church Socialist League, made up of members of the Episcopal Church.

This report was prepared for the American Labor Year Book put out by the Rand School of Socialism. (Vol. 2, pp. 358-60). It says in part: "The distinct advance of Socialist sentiment and movement among the church people of America was coincident with the spread of Socialism beyond the groups of the foreign born. At the National Convention of the Socialist Party in Chicago in 1902, there were among the regular delegates a number of clergy and lay officials of different churches. Since that date two Christian Socialist Organizations have been formed and are now very active, with the avowed purpose of extending the principles of Socialism among church people of America. The first and largest of these is the Christian Socialist Fellowship, an interdenominational organization with offices in Chicago. It was organized in Louisville, Kentucky in June 1905. From the beginning its general secretary has been Rev. Edward Ellis Car, Ph.D. It publishes a weekly and monthly paper called the "Christian Socialist", with offices in Chicago. It has over fifty branches and a large proportion of its members are allied with the Socialist movement and party. It holds annual and frequent district conferences. Through its general offices and local centres, Socialist

sermons and lectures have been delivered in thousands of churches. Millions of copies of the official paper of the Fellowship have been circulated to preachers, teachers and social workers. Churches and Y. M. C. A.'s and colleges are opened to the message of Socialism as put forth by the Fellowship. In 1911 the Church Socialist League in America was organized by a few clergy and lay people of the Episcopal Church. For some years there had been a strong and very pronounced Socialist League in England.

"In spite of the conservatism of the Episcopal Church and of its members, yet that Church has officially adopted radical and even revolutionary resolutions, and the influence of the Church Socialist League is discernible as giving color to them. A considerable share of the clergy are tintured with Socialism. With but 6,000 clergy several hundred are avowed Socialists and nearly one hundred are members of the Socialist Party. The League is able to present the parallel demands of militant Socialism to this communion as no other society can. Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtiss is the national Secretary, and the official organ is a quarterly, "The Social Preparation," the official address of both being Utica, N. Y. Officers and executive committee embrace the following well-known names: President: Rt. Rev. Paul Jones, D.D.; Vice Presidents: Rev. Wm. A. Guerry, D.S., Rt. Rev. Benj. Brewster, D.D., Rev. Eliot White; Executive Committee: Rev. G. Israel Browne, Rev. Wm. H. Tomlins, Very Rev. Bernard Iddings Bell, Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtiss, William F. Cochran, M. H. Reeves, E. M. Parker, Vida D. Scudder, Charlotte E. Lee, Ellen Gates Starr." (Signed A.L.B.-C.)

The Christian Socialists are fond of stating that Christ himself was a Socialist, and that the early Christians were communists. Mr. Nathan Haskell Dole writing in the N. Y. Times of Jan. 7, 1923, says: "Was not Jesus Himself a Socialist? Were not the primitive Christians communists?" Then he quotes from the 4th chapter of Acts: "They had all things in common.

Neither was there any among them that lacked; for as many as were possessors of lands and houses sold them and brought the prices of the things that were sold and laid them down at the apostles feet and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need." He adds "There is Bolshevism for you!"

This is one of the two references in the New Testament to anything which could by the widest stretch of the imagination be termed communism. The occasion referred to was one of tremendous enthusiasm and excitement among the apostles over the great numbers converted to the new religion. Peter had been preaching to the multitude, who were filled with the Holy Ghost. The other reference is in the second chapter of Acts. "And all that believed were together and had all things in common, and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need; and they continuing daily with one accord in the temple and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favor with all the people. And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved." (Acts 2:44-47).

This was a very temporary condition and there is no suggestion that it was expected or intended to be anything else. And is this Bolshevism or Communism? If this is what the Christian Socialists want, what is to hinder them from pooling their goods and distributing them promiscuously? Nothing whatever. What they want, however, is something remarkably different. Would the Russian refugees in Constantinople who are freezing and starving, whose homes have been destroyed, their property stolen, their families murdered, who have even no country left, agree with Mr. Dole that the friendly and wholly voluntary sharing of goods pictured in the gospels is Bolshevism? Are giving and confiscation the same thing in Mr. Dole's eyes?

Was Christ a Socialist? He told the rich young man who was seeking salvation to sell all that he had and give to the poor. But if this program is Christian So-

cialism, why do those who call themselves Christian Socialists continue to enjoy their own incomes? On another occasion Christ said "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things which are Gods." But the radicals whom the Christian Socialists follow declare there is no God, and that religion must be destroyed. The thing, however, which more than any other shows the great gulf fixed between the teachings of Christ and Socialism is this. Nothing stands out more strikingly in the history of Christ than His vivid sense of the Fatherhood of God, and His deep longing to make His disciples share His trust and dependence upon His and their Heavenly Father, who could be turned to for help and guidance and support, and to whom they should return. God the Father—how does this great conception fit in with the philosophy of Socialism, which not only denies the existence of God, but degrades Fatherhood to a status below that of the brutes? In the social conditions encouraged in Russia today, no man knows who are his children, and women do not know who are the fathers of their children. The father has no responsibility for wife or children, who are the property of the Communist State. The Fatherhood of God! What does this mean interpreted in terms of Socialism in practice?

It is difficult to respect either the brain or the character of those who attempt to justify their radical views through the claim that Christ was a Socialist. Fatherhood can mean little outside the institution of the family, and the attitude of Socialism toward the family is well known. A Socialist Third Reader used in Socialist Sunday Schools in this country contains the following precepts: 1. "The family is one of the principal obstacles to the enlightenment of men." 2. "Marriage is prostitution sanctified by the Church and protected by the State." (See "Bolshevism—Its Cure" by M. M. Avery and D. Goldstein, p. 278)

According to Lieutenant Klieforth who spent three years in Russia (1916-1919), "one of the tenets of Bolshevism calls for the destruction of all records concern-

ing births, marriages and deaths. So that when 500 children are taken from Moscow out into the country communal schools, the records of the children are destroyed and they are known only by numbers. Nobody can tell where the children have been taken." They have been nationalized. (See Nat. Civic Fed. Review Jan. 1, 1920 p. 3). What is the significance of Fatherhood in a regime like this?

To quote again from the National Civic Federation Review (Nov. 25, 1920, p. 23): "British socialism and radicalism of the most 'advanced type' are finding a voice in this country principally through our church organizations. Let any crackbrained socialist or so called "intellectual" in England declare for some program for producing Utopia overnight and it is quickly given sympathetic circulation through the churches in the United States. Describing such groups, Arthur Gleason, one of the leading exponents in this country of British radicalism, in an article in "The Survey", the mouthpiece of much of that same radicalism, said (April 17, 1920 p. 110:) "They have carried on excellent Salvation Army work in popularizing the idea of a British brand of syndicalism. This earnest, tiny group (a few hundred in all the Kingdom) appear in various service uniforms and play many parts. As university graduates, they are at the heart of the University Socialist Federation. As Christians, they are Church Socialists, sapping the established Church. As guildsmen, they conducted a league, honeycombing the trade unions. As investigators, they are the Labor Research Department, affiliated with important members of the trade union movement. As journalists, they have entry to powerful newspapers and weeklies. But their great service has been that of agitators with a smashing generalization."

Referring only to one of the groups in Mr. Gleason's enumeration, the idea of "sapping the established church" is born out by the following extracts from a very remarkable article in the Edinburg Review of Jan. 20, 1920, by the Rt. Rev. H. H. Benson, Bishop of Hereford (now

Bishop of Durham) entitled "The Church and Socialism": "A considerable and increasing number of Christian ministers of all denominations, except perhaps the Roman Catholic, are pouring forth the crudest heresies and harshest dogmas of the class war from pulpits and platforms, in newspapers and parish magazines, in tracts and catechisms, even in litanies and hymns. All the methods of religion are being freely employed to create a sense of intolerable oppression and stimulate a passion of class hatred. Prayers and devotions for use in Advent and Lent and on numerous special occasions breathe the same spirit. A fantastic exegesis has been worked out and popularized in tracts, with the object of transforming the New Testament into a Socialist manual."

To quote again from the National Civic Federation Review (Nov. 25, 1920, p. 23):

"It is said that the Social Service work of nearly all our Protestant churches is in the control of a 'small group of self-perpetuating radicals' who drew their inspiration almost wholly from these radical church groups in England. This is especially true of the Episcopal Church. Very much is made of the Anglican Archbishop's 'Report on Christianity and Industrial Problems' which, as is well known, was drawn up by a committee dominated by Socialist Bishops, rectors and labor men. The notorious George Lansbury was an active member and, it is charged, wrote an important part of the document."

George Lansbury is a capitalist and revolutionary Socialist. In the (London) Daily Herald, of which he was the editor, he said: "We desire not the patching up of the present system, but its complete overthrow—We intend to use every scrap of industrial and political power to this end." (May 28, 1921).

The official organ of the Church Socialist League in this country, the "Social Preparation," echos Lansbury in slightly different words: "We are not reformers trying to patch up an outworn garment, but revolutionists."

The self-styled "revolutionists" have formed another organization in this country called the "Church League

for Industrial Democracy". It is of interest to know what it stands for. Information on this point is to be found in an article by Henry Harrison Lewis, in the Washington periodical called "Industry" in its issue of Dec. 15, 1920. It says: "On the twenty-seventh day of November, 1920, the 'Baltimore News' carried a half-page advertisement entitled 'A Timely Reminder of Some of the Principles of the Church League for Industrial Democracy'. This newspaper had previously carried advertisement of the League in question; in fact, the announcements had been a Saturday afternoon feature for many months, and the newspaper readers of Baltimore were accustomed to them. The particular advertisement referred to above, however, contained a notice addressed to 'The Members and Friends of the League', inviting them to attend an 'Eastern Conference of the League' to be held in New York City, December 6th and 7th, at the Church of the Ascension, Fifth Avenue and Tenth Street. Among the invited speakers (most of whom had already accepted, according to the announcement) were the following:

"Prof. Harry F. Ward, of Union Theological Seminary, President Bernard J. Bell of St. Stephen's College, Rev. Howard C. Robbins, Dean of Cathedral of St. John the Divine, Thomas Gavit, Vice President, Penna. Federation of Labor, F. Ernest Johnson of the Federal Council of Churches, Miss Vida D. Scudder of Wellesley College, Norman B. Nash, of Cambridge Theological School, Rev. Percy S. Grant, Rector Church of the Ascension, Rev. J. Howard Melish, Rector Holy Trinity Church, Brooklyn, Sidney Hilman, President Amalg. Clothing Works of America. * * *

"There were addresses [at the Monday evening session of the Conference] by Rev. Percy Stickney Grant and Norman Angell, but *the* speaker of the evening was Lincoln Steffens. What Lincoln Steffens said would have satisfied Lenin himself. And he spoke as one freshly arrived from that tragic area of the globe where the so-called 'New Freedom' has massacred or enslaved a ninth

of the world's population. Steffens knew his audience and he knew the real purpose and the desires of the organization which had invited him to speak. There was no camouflage, no effort to use soft words. He acted as if he had a message to deliver from Petrograd and an eager sympathetic audience to receive it. He began abruptly by saying—"John Reed went to the only place in the world where they are trying to solve the political problem, Russia, where they are trying to materialize democracy. They are the only people that have a plan. People who go to Russia for a short time say: 'I would like to stay here.' When you get in there for an hour or two hours, or just long enough to get the spirit you realize for the first time, that you have seen a society where there is hope. Not a word or a vague thought of the future, but a definite plan. They are trying to do what every person in this audience would like to do, they have realized the impulse that impels you and me. They know, for instance, that they must establish conditions under which, some day their children will grow up strong communists, so they are feeding their children the milk and eggs—understand me, they know the children will become the future communists of the world, so they feed them—the milk and eggs. Evolutionists do not make revolutions. Revolutionists in Europe now are preparing. So I think I can say there will be no more evolution—so a revolution is coming. The idea of the Bolshevik is, we will not only *think* Socialism, *talk* Socialism, but we will *do* Socialism." (Applause).

Another speaker said: "There is going to loom up before us this: How are you going to arrange any kind of revolution? They require another revolution right away—all the issues cannot be settled in one revolution. It seems to require a series of revolutions to get the evil and make things right."

"Speakers representing the Industrial Department of the Young Women's Christian Association brought a greeting of good cheer and co-operation.

"The meeting Tuesday night, the final one of the ses-

sion, was addressed by Sidney Hilman, General President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and Charles W. Irvin, editor of the New York Call, a Socialist daily. The latter uttered a tirade against the 'capitalistic' press of the country, and indicated that the truth could be found only in the 'Call'. Rev. Hogue, a Philadelphia clergyman, interpolated an urgent request that the members of the League subscribe forthwith for the publication."

This seems to show clearly the attitude toward Socialism of these distinguished members of the Church League for Industrial Democracy. Many of them surround the bare bones of the Socialist plan with emotional feeling and expression which they interpret to themselves as religious. But the fact remains that Socialism, alias Bolshevism, alias Communism, aims to destroy religion.

One of the most alarming features of this movement is the extent to which it is entrenched in the schools which are training the young men who should be the teachers of Christianity to the coming generation.

Miss Vida Scudder, Professor at Wellesley College and a leader in the Christian Socialist movement, states in an article in "The Church Militant" for March, 1923, that the principles of the Church League for Industrial Democracy "were formulated a few years ago by several representative Churchmen, among them President Bell of St. Stephen's College." At this college many young ministers of the Episcopal Church receive their university education.

Miss Scudder also states in the above mentioned article that the membership of the Church League for Industrial Democracy includes "most of the faculty of the Cambridge (Episcopal) Theological School."

Will "militant atheism" be taught from the pulpits in the near future?

No unprejudiced student of the many communist experiments the world has seen, can fail to see that capitalism, with all its faults, is a far more tolerable system for even the poorest, than any of the systems which have been

proposed and tried by its enemies. Capitalism most certainly has its defects, but it is the part of wisdom for both clergymen and laymen to *remedy these defects* rather than to destroy a system which has brought a degree of general comfort and well being unknown before in the world's history.

There is a growing belief which finds frequent expression that it is because clergymen are losing faith in the power of religion that so many of them are turning to the rank materialism and atheism of the I. W. W. and Bolshevism. At a time when the crying need of the world is for moral and spiritual ideals, it is no less than appalling to see men who are supported by funds given to the cause of religion allying themselves with a movement which openly aims to destroy both religion and the family, and which in so doing, must destroy civilization itself.

280 Dartmouth St.
Boston, Mass.

ARTICLE III.

THE APOSTOLIC AUTHORSHIP OF THE FIRST GOSPEL.

BY J. F. SPRINGER.

A grave New Testament problem concerns the authorship and date of our First Gospel. Many are giving up the view that Matthew the Apostle, one of the Twelve, was the author, and some are content to allow a late date. It is the purpose of the present paper to point out that there is really no necessity to give up a date within Apostolic times or to yield on the matter of the Matthaean authorship.

The reader who is an expert in the matters treated may expect to find new evidence and new aspects of old evidence. The use and contingent use of Ignatius' Epistle to Polycarp 1:3 and of I Clement 18:1 may be cited in this connection. The attitude towards all the evidence is characterized, it is hoped, by a departure from those uncritical points of view which seem to obtain to such a great extent both amongst those who defend traditional positions and amongst those who oppose them. The priority of Mark over Matthew is refused, not merely because it is in opposition to tradition, but also because there appears to be no adequate scientific foundation for this view. In short, the present article seeks to deal with an old question, answered affirmatively in favor of the Apostle Matthew by old inquiries now in need of a critical examination, and negatively by relatively recent investigations which do not seem to have been pursued by a method sufficiently controlled by scientific considerations. The writer stands for the Apostolic authorship, but for reasons that differ somewhat from those which his predecessors have set forth.

The First Gospel itself makes no claim as to authorship and gives but slight indication as to date, the expres-

sions, "unto this day" (Mt. 27:8) and "until this day" (Mt. 28:15), warranting nothing definite as to the elapsed intervals. As to any remaining internal evidence, it is either altogether non-existent or else of a recondite character. On the other hand, there is a great deal of external evidence. Indeed, I may say in addition and at once that there is apparently no direct external evidence which denies or opposes either a very early date or the authorship of Matthew the publican.

The external evidence consists principally of quotations, allusions and relevant statements in ancient authors. Such data are of great value in the settlement of questions of authorship and date. But, in the present case, various considerations combine to limit—I do not say destroy—the value of a large part of the very earliest evidence.

Thus, in I Clement, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Epistles of Ignatius, and the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, four of the earliest non-canonical Christian documents, we have what are apparently allusions to and quotations from our Matthew, but the source or sources are not named. In most cases, but happily not in all, identification marks of a reasonably conclusive character are wanting. It often happens that we find textual matter referable indeed to the First Gospel but also referable to other writings. For example—in I Clement 13:2 is a group of precepts based on the Sermon on the Mount. They are referable, for the most part, to our Gospel of Matthew. But the written source, if there was one, is not mentioned. And, as a matter of fact, the group of injunctions, viewed as a group, may also be as well referred to the Gospel of Luke. Further, we might assign the Gospel of Mark (11:25) as the source of the precept as to forgiveness. In short, a quotation of or allusion to some part of a discourse of the Savior, though referable to Matthew, may perhaps be based on one of the other Synoptic Gospels or some other source.

Let us halt at this point and consider the situation created when we have a citation or allusion referable to our

Matthew. Evidently, if no other source is possible, then we possess an important piece of evidence affording us proof that our First Gospel antedated the writing in which the citation or allusion occurs. This is quite simple. So also is the case where the citation or allusion is referable as well, say, to Luke. If these both are satisfactory sources, if no others are possible, and if the Gospels are independent documents, then we have a proof that either our Matthew or Luke existed prior to the literary work containing the citation or allusion. In this case, the ambiguity depreciates the evidence for the priority of either Gospel. It is desirable, in fact, in seeking evidences for the existence of our Matthew, to search out those which are applicable to this document alone. Unfortunately, however, it is practically never possible, in cases where the citation or allusion has reference to the Savior's discourse, to find it unambiguous in character. This is not necessarily because some other of the Gospels come into competition with our Matthew. There are still other sources of ambiguity. It is in order now to explain just what these are.

First, there are the narratives to which reference is made in Luke 1:1-2. One document was doubtless our Mark. Whether another was our Matthew, cannot be answered now. However, there were many narratives, so that there must have been in existence before the writer of Luke began his account a considerable amount of Gospel material. It is not permissible to suppose that he used everything that was available. The fact that the Lukan narrative does not contain any of the incidents recounted in the large section extending from Mark 6:45 to 8:26 is a sufficient bar to the conclusion that he made use of everything at hand. The considerable number of narratives known to the Lukan writer may, accordingly, very well have contained a good deal of discourse now found in Matthew but not in Luke. If then we have a discourse citation or allusion referable, in so far as known documents are concerned, to our Matthew alone, we can not be sure, in any particular case, that the discourse cita-

tion or allusion was not based on some unknown pre-Lukan writing. We have to reckon with this possibility. The effect is to reduce, though perhaps to no immoderate degree, the value of that discourse evidence found in some very early writing such as I Clement.

Second, it is necessary to take into consideration the possibility that the citation or allusion may have been based upon oral transmission. We do not know, however, that there ever was such a thing. Nor do we know, even if we allow its existence, that in the material thus transmitted the particular thing found in our Matthew was also contained. These considerations, two in number, combine to make oral transmission a very inconsiderable competitor of the First Gospel. We conclude, then, that if we have found in some quite ancient work a quotation from or reference to discourse material not known to exist elsewhere than in our Matthaean document, this evidence for the prior existence of our Matthew is only very inconsiderably reduced in value by the possibility that there may have been oral transmission in the early days and that the matter thus transmitted may have contained the thing that our Matthew is known to contain.

Third, we come now to the final source of ambiguity. It resembles oral transmission in respect to two prominent matters. It is something which is not known ever to have been in existence. This is one point of resemblance. In addition, it is uncertain, in any particular case, that, even if it existed, it had within it the textual matter necessary to explain the allusion or citation. In view of our ignorance on these two points, we can scarcely expect that the value of the evidence on behalf of our Matthew will be much lowered.

I am speaking of the document ambiguously referred to as *the logia* by the very ancient writer Papias. Eusebius has preserved the written words:

"So then Matthew wrote the oracles [the logia] in the

Hebrew [presumably Aramaic] language, and everyone interpreted them as he was able."¹

The logia, here translated "the oracles," may refer to our Matthew or, it has been conceived, to a document consisting principally of material common to our First and Third Gospels, this material containing sayings and discourses of the Savior and improbably much additional matter. No such document is known to have existed. It is purely a conjectural writing. However, if we are disposed to grant the tenability of a certain modern view, a view that finds expression in the Two-Document Hypothesis, then this conjectural work must be taken into account. The Two-Document Hypothesis is unproven, and, I think, unprovable. However, it sets up our Mark, or a document not materially different, as prior not only to Luke but also to the First Gospel. In fact, it makes Mark a writing upon which the other two are separately dependent. This conception is indeed offered as an explanation of the occurrence of so many Markan incidents in Matthew and Luke. There is, however, a considerable aggregate of material, mostly sayings and discourses of the Savior, which is common to the First and Third Gospels but is not found in the Second. It is thought by some that this aggregate was the whole or a large part of an independent document, and that this document and our Mark were two principal sources back of our Matthew and Luke. From what has been set forth, the origin of the term, Two-Document Hypothesis, is easily surmised. The conjectural document, called Q by many, is thought by some to be identical with *the logia*, mentioned by Papias as having been written by Matthew.

Suppose now that we have found in some early writing, as I Clement, an allusion or a citation which is referable to the Savior's discourse in Matthew but to no other known writing. Do we have to take into account that it

¹ Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3:39:16 (N&PNF, Second Series, vol. i).

Here and elsewhere N&PNF=Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. Similarly wherever ANF occurs, the reader is to understand Ante-Nicene Fathers.

may also have existed in a second source, the document Q? We do, if we allow that Q may really have had an existence and if we also grant that the particular allusion or citation is referable to Q despite the consideration that thus Q is extended beyond a text defined simply as common to Matthew and Luke but not to Mark. For example, let A be the allusion or citation. We note that it is a part of the Sermon on the Mount in Matthew, but is nowhere else in the New Testament and in particular is not in Luke. If we grant that Q existed and also that it contained this part of the Sermon on the Mount though the part is not in Luke, then we shall have to allow a degree, though a small degree, of probability that there may have been another source distinct from our Matthew to which A is referable. The probability is inconsiderable, in any case, since it is heavily cut down first of all because of the uncertainty that Q ever existed, and secondly because of the uncertainty whether Q is to be extended to include the necessary discourse text existent in our Matthew but unrepresented in Luke or Mark. These two considerations operate to reduce the probability to a low value. But, under the double condition of allowance of the tenability of Q's existence and of its possible inclusion of A, the probability nevertheless has *some* value.

The effect, under the circumstances named, is to create a competition between *the logia* and our Matthew when we have an allusion or citation referable to the Savior's discourse as disclosed in the First Gospel but not in any other New Testament document. The reduction, thus brought about in the probability that our Matthew antedated the allusion or citation is, under the specified conditions, a small loss but still an actual one.

Of the three considerations which have now been taken into account in respect to their modifying effect upon the value of the evidence created by the discovery of an allusion to or citation from the Savior's words, only that which arises out of the pre-Lukan narratives has any considerable importance. Oral transmission and Q produce only slight results. The total effect of all these is to be

regarded as moderate. However, though only a moderate reduction is brought about, this is sufficient to put discourse allusions and citations into a different class of evidence from narrative citations and allusions.

The foregoing is not to be understood as meaning that discourse allusions and citations referable to our Matthew and not known to be referable to any other source are valueless. The very fact that the First Gospel is known to exist and that the allusions or citations may be most satisfactorily explained by it gives to them a good standing as evidence for the prior existence of this document. The net result of our discussion is merely that this evidence falls short of that which depends on narrative allusions and citations.

Evidence based simply on utterances of the Savior have, accordingly, only limited importance when considered singly. Such evidence is, however, valuable by way of corroboration, and it is also valuable when the instances of it tend to become numerous, as then we have a cumulative effect.

We have, in the Ignatian Epistle to Polycarp, what appears to be a reference to our present Gospel of Matthew. If the connection with our First Gospel can be established, then we have here the earliest piece of external evidence, known to me, that combines the characteristics of directness and high probability. Let me explain. All through our Matthew occur formally introduced citations from the prophets which are brought forward as prophecies of events narrated in the immediate context. Whether these citation-passages originated with the author of the Gospel is a question. Nevertheless, they are part and parcel of our MSS. of Matthew and certainly date from a very early period. Any reference in an ancient writing that could certainly be connected with one of them would become a witness to the existence, not of a mere Matthaean catena of discourses but of the First Gospel as we now have it.

Ignatius in writing to Polycarp who was then Bishop of Smyrna exhorts him thus: "Bear the diseases of all, as a

good athlete" (Ep. to Polyc. 1:3). In Matthew 8:17, we have a formal citation from Isaiah: "Himself took our infirmities, and bore our diseases." But Isaiah does not answer to this—neither in the Hebrew text nor in the Greek version of the LXX. Consequently, the Matthaean passage is a peculiarity and constitutes thus an identifying mark of our First Gospel. That Ignatius was basing his exhortation to Polycarp upon the passage in Matthew seems very probable, especially as this view explains in a reasonable way how Ignatius came to conceive of a bishop's duty as including in some sense a bearing of the diseases of all. However, it is to be allowed that we can not be sure that Ignatius got his thought from the Matthaean passage. The language used in the Epistle to Polycarp is probably, but not certainly, an external evidence of the existence of our Matthew at the time of the martyrdom of Ignatius.

Even the mention of a document in connection with the very name of Matthew may, for our purposes, lack something of complete certainty because of some inadequacy of identification of the writing. We have already had an example of this. Papias—to whom a very early date must be assigned, a date as early perhaps as 110 or 120 A. D.—connects Matthew and a document which he descriptively terms "the logia." It is impossible to say, at least as long as the Two-Document Hypothesis is ineffectively refuted, that this term certainly signifies the same Gospel—narratives, discourses and all—that we now know as the Gospel of Matthew.

Again, even such an introduction as "it stands written" may not be sufficient to identify the First Gospel as the source although the passage is explicable as based on didactic matter in our Matthew. In the Epistle of Barnabas (4:14), we have, "lest, as it stands written, we be found 'many called but few chosen.'" We may find a basis in Matthew 22:14. Doubtless, "it stands written" indicates, for the matter thus introduced, a MS. source and not oral tradition; but these words do not necessarily include contextual matter as also Scriptural. The words

of the Savior, standing in any written source, would, apparently, sufficiently justify their citation as Scripture. It seems reasonable that a written catena of the Savior's discourses might supply material for quotations prefaced by a formula reserved to the purpose of introducing matter viewed as Scripture. In short, the words themselves justify the introductory language, "it stands written," so that this language needs not to be understood to mean that the Savior's words stood in a writing considered inspired throughout. Some pre-Lukan document, not considered inspired in its narrative text, may conceivably have included the words paraphrased or cited.

It is necessary too to examine closely instances where the narrative part of our Matthew appears to be the source of the quotation or allusion. Thus, in the Epistle of Barnabas 7:3, it might be thought that we certainly have a reference to narrative matter in Matthew 27:34 and 27:48. That is, in the Epistle, we have the statement, "when he was crucified he was given to drink vinegar and gall." A little further on (7:5), we have, "Because you are going to give to me gall with vinegar to drink." We might suppose this latter passage requires us to think of vinegar in which gall has been mingled; but, even so, we may feel that our Matthew is still the source, the passage 27:34 alone being considered the basis of the allusion. We should then understand that "vinegar" in the Epistle represents "wine" in the Gospel. All this goes pretty well to pieces, however, when we note that in the Gospel according to Peter (5) we have: "And one of them said, Give him to drink gall with vinegar. And they mixed and gave him to drink." It immediately becomes more reasonable to think that what we have in the Epistle of Barnabas is derived from the Gospel of Peter itself or some source back of it than to view it as based on our Gospel of Matthew.

Another consideration which apparently operates to cut down the available evidence relates to the frequent difficulty of distinguishing between a heresiarch and his successors. Perhaps as good an example as any is one

where, at first glance, we have Basilides himself making a reference to the Magi and the Star. In the Refutation of All Heresies, ascribed to Hippolytus, we find the following:

"And that each thing, says [Basilides], has its own particular times, the Saviour is a sufficient [witness] when He observes, 'Mine hour is not yet come.' And the Magi [afford similar testimony] when they gaze wistfully upon the [Saviour's] star." Hippolytus, Refutation of All Heresies 7:15 (ANF, vol. v). Or, see F. Legge's translation (1921) entitled *Philosophumena*, or the Refutation of All Heresies, 7:27.

That it would be hazardous to rely on the view that we have here a reference to our Matthew that originated with the heresiarch Basilides himself, is indicated by the fact that, after a few lines, we find "according to these [Basilidians]." This change is made without notice. Then a little further on we have what may very well be a confusion of the leader and his followers: "In order, however, that we may not omit any of the doctrines of this [Basilides], I shall likewise explain whatever statements they put forward respecting a gospel." Naturally, ancient writers against heresies like Hippolytus and Irenaeus were intent upon the refutation of the heresy itself, so that for their purposes the utterances of the sect might be much the same whether they originated with the original leader or were a development due to followers living in a later period. Consequently, when we have a statement that Basilides says thus and thus, we may well consider whether we really are given information as to what the heresiarch himself wrote or as to something written by a later leader of the Basilidians. Apparently, then, the only sure result is limited to the conclusion that the sect of the Basilidians, at some period before the composition of the Refutation of All Heresies, was acquainted with our Gospel of Matthew.

As to Cerinthus and Carpocrates, we seem to have, in the work of Epiphanius known as *Adversus Haereses*, a personal reference connecting them with the Gospel of

Matthew. These heresiarchs were doubtless very ancient and, if we could be sure that they were acquainted with our Matthew, we would have very early testimonies to its existence. But, when Epiphanius makes an actual quotation, the matter becomes involved in uncertainty. The quotation is as follows:

"And it came to pass in the days of Herod, King of Judaea, in the highpriesthood of Caiaphas, that a certain man, John by name, came baptizing with the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan, etc." Epiphanius, *Adversus Haereses*, 30:14.

In the first place, neither Matthew nor any other Gospel puts the advent of John in the time of "Herod, king of Judaea." We may, however, find the first eight Greek words quoted by Epiphanius (represented by the first thirteen English words) in Luke 1:5 and the next three (represented by five English words) in Luke 3:1. The correspondence, so far, is rather with Luke than with our Matthew. None of the four Gospels has the expression "baptizing with the baptism of repentance," though Mark (1:4) has "baptism of repentance." Nor does any Gospel say, "John by name" nor "the river Jordan." (Cf. Jn. 1:6 and Mt. 3:6; Mk. 1:5). The connection of the quotation with our Gospel of Matthew would appear to be slight indeed.

It will now be granted, perhaps, that the application of severe, critical considerations of the kind described will eliminate, or at least substantially reduce the value of, a good deal of the most ancient external evidence upon which writers have in the past depended in maintaining the early date and the Apostolic authorship of our First Gospel. The eliminated, or depreciated, evidence still retains some valuable characteristics, from which I will just now single out one. This evidence *permits belief*. It provides an adequate answer to the question: If our present Gospel of Matthew has come down to us from the hand of the Apostle himself, ought not traces of its existence to be found in the earliest literature? As a matter of fact, there is perhaps extant to-day no very ancient

document in whose text a quotation from or an allusion to our First Gospel might reasonably be sought which does not disclose one or more examples of matter referable to our Greek Matthew. The claim can not be made that the earliest literature does not reflect this document. There is a great mass of permissive evidence. But, if we ask for very ancient testimonies which affirmatively insist upon the prior existence of our First Gospel, we shall have to be content with a few examples, none of them perhaps having a date earlier than about the time of the martyrdom of Ignatius.

But some qualification is needed here. There is one extraordinary case where the witness, though giving his testimony about a century and a half after the events, nevertheless had known and learned from one who in turn had known and learned from persons who had seen and heard the Savior Himself. We thus get a testimony of much higher value than what the mere date would indicate. It constitutes, in fact, the most notable piece of affirmative external evidence to the Apostolic authorship of our present Gospel of Matthew.

The evidence consisting in the use by Ignatius, in his Epistle to Polycarp (1:3), of the exhortation, "Bear the diseases of all," has a date as early as the effective date of the testimony of Irenaeus, or perhaps still earlier than this, but the Ignatian evidence covers only the matter of the prior existence of our Matthew and says nothing explicit as to authorship.

Having now dealt, by way of introduction, with various critical considerations which tend to modify our appraisal of the value of certain usual types of evidence, I proceed to consider the evidential basis for the view that our Matthew was composed by the Apostle.

CLAIM OF "NO TRACES" CAN NOT BE MADE.

It is important to note that while it seems difficult, if not impossible, to cite much external evidence of an absolutely unambiguous character from the very earliest

non-canonical Christian literature, nevertheless the situation is such that the affirmative claim can not be made that our Matthew has left no traces upon that same literature. That is to say, there are many passages which may very well constitute direct quotations from and references to our First Gospel. They are referable to our Matthew and to no other known document.² Moreover, a very ancient writing speaks of *the logia* as having been written by Matthew in Hebrew [presumably Aramaic]. We are under no obligation to understand by this simply a catena of discourse material. Our Matthew stands as the only known source that may certainly be set up as supplying a basis for this reference.

In view of these facts, it is not permissible to entertain the affirmative claim that the earliest non-canonical Christian literature contains no traces of the existence of our Matthew nor any reference to its Apostolic authorship.

The passages occur in I Clement, certain of the Epistles of Ignatius, the Epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, the Epistle of Barnabas and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. It is thus possible to cite, if not all then nearly all, of the principal non-canonical Christian authors whose writings have come down to us from the period between the Apostles and Justin Martyr. I proceed to cite some twenty-six passages, all of them referable to our Matthew and to no other known document of very ancient times.

1. I Clement 13:2: Be merciful, in order that ye may obtain mercy.

Mt. 5:7: Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.³

² Such statements as this are to be understood in a reasonable manner. They mean no more than that the writer is aware of no other document to which the quotations or references might be referred.

³ There are two reasons for excluding Lk. 6:36: "Be ye merciful, even as your Father is merciful." (1) It does not afford a basis for the Clementine statement of purpose: "in order that ye may obtain mercy." (2) In the Greek, the text of I Clement twice uses a certain verb meaning "to show mercy" which in its root form is quite distinct from the adjective twice used in Luke.

2. Ignatius, Epistle to the Smyrnaeans 1:1: For I have perceived that ye have been fully persuaded with reference to our Lord...that He was baptized by John in order that all righteousness might be fulfilled by him.

Matthew 3:15: But Jesus answering said unto him, Suffer it now: for thus it becometh us to fulfill all righteousness.

3. Ignatius, Epistle to the Smyrnaeans 6:1: He that receiveth it, let him receive it.

Matthew 19:12: He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.

4. Ignatius, Epistle to Polycarp 1:3: Bear the diseases of all as a perfect athlete.

Matthew 8:17: Himself took our infirmities, and bore our diseases.

5. Ignatius, Epistle to Polycarp 2:2: Be wise as the serpent in all things and harmless as the dove forever.

Matthew 10:16: Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.

6. Ignatius, Epistle to the Trallians 11:1 and Epistle to the Philadelphians 3:1: For these are not a plant of the Father—Because they are not a plant of the Father.

Matthew 15:13: Every plant which my heavenly Father planted not, shall be rooted up.

7. Polycarp, Epistle to the Philippians 2:3: Judge not, that ye be not judged.

Matthew 7:1: Judge not, that ye be not judged.

8. Polycarp, Epistle to the Philippians 2:3: Blessed are...they that are persecuted for righteousness sake: for theirs is the kingdom of God.

Matthew 5:10: Blessed are they that have been persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

9. Polycarp, Epistle to the Philippians 12:3: Pray also...for them that persecute...you.

Matthew 5:44: Pray for them that persecute you.

10. Epistle of Barnabas 4:14: Lest...we be found many called but few chosen.

Matthew 22:14: For many are called, but few chosen.

11. Epistle of Barnabas 5:12: The sheep of the flock.

Matthew 26:31: The sheep of the flock.

12. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 1:4: If some one shall compel thee to go one mile, go with him two.

Matthew 5:41: And whosoever shall compel thee to go one mile, go with him two.

13. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 8:2: Our [Father].

Matthew 6:9: Our [Father].

14. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 8:2: Who art in heaven.

Matthew 6:9: Who art in heaven.

15. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 8:2: Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth.

Matthew 6:10: Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth.

16. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 8:2: This day.

Matthew 6:11: This day.

17. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 8:2: Our debt.

Matthew 6:12: Our debts.

18. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 8:2: As we also forgive our debtors.

Matthew 6:12: As we also have forgiven our debtors.

19. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 8:2: But deliver us from the evil one.

Matthew 6:13: But deliver us from the evil one.

20. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 8:2: For thine is the power, and the glory, forever.

Matthew 6:13 (according to some ancient MSS.): For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory for ever.

21. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 9:5: Give not that which is holy unto the dogs.

Matthew 7:6: Give not that which is holy unto the dogs.

22. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 14:2: But let no one who has a dispute with his fellow gather with you, until they are reconciled, lest your sacrifice be defiled.

Matthew 5:23-24: If therefore thou art offering thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother and then come and offer thy gift.

23. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 16:1: But be ready.

Matthew 24:44: Therefore be ye also ready.

24. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 16:4: For, as iniquity increases.

Matthew 24:12: And because iniquity shall be multiplied.

25. Teaching the Twelve Apostles 16:4: And they shall persecute.

Matthew 23:34 and 10:23: And some of them shall ye...persecute from city to city.

26. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 16:5: And many shall stumble.

Matthew 24:10: And then shall many stumble.

It is also important to understand that while it is difficult or even impossible to cite from the very earliest non-canonical Christian literature clear and unmistakable instances where our First Gospel is mentioned in such way as to distinguish it from a mere catena of discourses, nevertheless there do exist in this same literature cases of phraseology which may very well be interpreted as mentions of our Matthew. I call attention to the following:

1. Epistle of Barnabas 4:14: Here the formal clause, *As it stands written*, is employed to characterize the words, Many called, but few chosen. That is, we have a quotation set forth as Scripture, and moreover as written Scripture.

2. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 8:2: Here we have the Lord's Prayer introduced by the following words: And do not pray as the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in *his Gospel*, thus pray ye.

3. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 11:3-4, 7: Note the following: And in connection with the Apostles and

Prophets, act thus in accordance with the prescription of *the Gospel*. And let every Apostle who comes to you be received as the Lord. . . . And refrain from testing and examining any Prophet who speaks in the Spirit. For every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. We have here, apparently, lines of action which may very well have been based on Matthew 10:40 (He that receiveth you receiveth me) and Matthew 12:31 (Every sin and blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men; but the blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be forgiven).

4. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 15:4: And your prayers and alms and all acts carry out thus, as ye have them in *the Gospel of our Lord*. The prayers and alms are referable to Matthew 6:5-13, 1-4, and Matthew 6:16-18 may be included in "all acts."

5. Fragment of Papias in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3:39:16: So then Matthew wrote the oracles [the logia] in the Hebrew [presumably Aramaic] language, and everyone interpreted them as he was able.

All of the foregoing forms of words found in the Epistle of Barnabas and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, may very well have been used as references to our Gospel of Matthew. That is, "It stands written," "In his Gospel," "The Gospel" and "In the Gospel of our Lord" may be formulae intended as references to our First Gospel. So also, "the oracles" which Papias declares Matthew wrote may be identical with the Gospel known to us.

In view of what has now been set forth, both in connection with textual references and quotations and also in connection with formulae indicative of sources, it is impossible, I think, to maintain an affirmative claim that the very earliest writings which have come down to us do not contain indications that our Gospel of Matthew was in existence when the several authors composed them. Nor can it be asserted that the very ancient literature contains no statement that our Matthew came from the hands of the Apostle himself, since this may

very well be part of the import of the statement by Papias.

If it be thought strange that such writings as I Clement, the Epistles of Ignatius, the Epistle of Polycarp and the Epistle of Barnabas should disclose little or no reference to the narrative language of Matthew, then let the following considerations be taken into account.

There are references to the facts narrated in Matthew as well as to the discourse material, but there is little or no effort to establish their truth. That is assumed. The Birth, the Virgin Birth, the Cross, the Death, the Resurrection are not treated as facts to be established by an appeal to documents. They are referred to as facts known and accepted. The facts are, perhaps all of them, to be found set forth in detail or in some sufficient form in the other Gospels, the Acts and the Epistles of the New Testament. Since it is the case that nearly all the great events of our Matthew are presented in some form in the remainder of the New Testament, we are not to be surprised if there are but few broad narrative facts or none at all alluded to in the earliest non-canonical Christian literature that are to be found exclusively in the First Gospel. I proceed to give a tabulation, perhaps rather incomplete, of narrative matters referred to in this literature and narrated in some detail in our First Gospel.

Conceived by Mary, Ignat. Eph. 18:2.

Born of Mary, Ignat. Eph. 19:1, Tr. 9:1.

Born of a virgin, Ignat. Eph. 19:1, Smyr. 1:1.

Family of David, Ignat. Smyr. 1:1.

Baptism, Ignat. Eph. 18:2, Barn. 11:1.

Baptism of John, Ignat. Smyr. 1:1.

Received ointment upon the head, Ignat. Eph. 17:1.

The Cross, Ignat. Eph. 16:2, Tr. 11:2, Philad. 8:2, Smyr. 1:1; Polyc. Philip. 12:3; Barn. 8:1, 11:1, 11:8, 12:1, 12:2.

The Passion, Ignat. Tr. 11:2, Philad. Introd., 3:3, 9:2, Smyr. 1:2, 2:1, 5:3, 7:1, 7:2; Barn. 5:1, 6:7.

Crucified in time of Pilate, Ignat. Smyr. 1:2.

The Resurrection, I Clem. 24:1, 42:3; Ignat. Philad. 8:2, 9:2, Smyr. 1:2, 7:2; Polycarp. Philip. 2:1, 12:2; Barn. 15:9.

Resurrection on Sunday, Ignat. Mag. 9:1; Barn. 15:9.

From the foregoing table we may see that the very early literature does reflect events dealt with in the narrative parts of Matthew. That all may also be found elsewhere in the New Testament is not surprising when we consider how thoroughly the remainder of the New Testament, particularly the remaining Gospels, duplicates the main topics of the First Gospel. The tabular statement may not supply an argument adapted to prove the very early existence of our Matthew. At the same time, it does permit us to hold that such existence was a reality. The view that our First Gospel was available to the very earliest non-canonical writers is not embarrassed by any impossibility of making this document the source of a fair proportion of the detailed information that must be assumed to lie back of the allusions and references listed in the table.

We have now reached a definite point with respect to non-canonical Christian writings dating from the period prior to 150 A. D. There is difficulty in citing from these sources more than one or two passages which convincingly show that our Matthew must have lain before the writers. Nevertheless, these literary remains supply us (1) with quotations from and allusions to utterances of the Savior referable to no known source other than our Matthew and also (2) with references to facts which are set forth in detail in the same document. One of the very ancient documents, the Ignatian Epistle to Polycarp, is, however, a most excellent witness to the prior existence of our Matthew. We have here evidence with which we may take a strong stand. I refer to the passage where Ignatius bids Polycarp "Bear the diseases of all," which has already occupied our attention. We must remember, however, that this testimony applies only to the book and has no reference to the matter of authorship.

The chief witnesses as to this point are Irenaeus and Justin Martyr.

THE TESTIMONY OF IRENAEUS AND JUSTIN.

That the author of our First Gospel was the Apostle Matthew is testified to by Irenaeus, writing in the second half of the second Christian century. He was well fitted to give information on such a point, for in his youth he knew Polycarp and Polycarp had known eye and ear witnesses of the Ministry of our Savior.

"But Polycarp also was not only instructed by apostles, and conversed with many who had seen Christ, but was also, by apostles in Asia, appointed bishop of the Church in Smyrna, whom I also saw in my early youth, for he tarried [on earth] a very long time, and, when a very old man, gloriously and most nobly suffering martyrdom, departed this life, having always taught the things which he had learned from the apostles, and which the Church has handed down, and which alone are true." Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 3:3:4 (ANF, vol. i).

"For when I was a boy, I saw thee [Florinus] in lower Asia with Polycarp, moving in splendor in the royal court, and endeavoring to gain his approbation. I remember the events of that time more clearly than those of recent years. For what boys learn, growing with their mind, becomes joined with it; so that I am able to describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp sat as he discoursed, and his goings out and his comings in, and the manner of his life, and his physical appearance, and his discourses to the people, and the accounts which he gave of his intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord. And as he remembered their words, and what he heard from them concerning the Lord, and concerning His miracles and His teaching, having received them from eye-witnesses of the 'Word of life,' Polycarp related all things in harmony with the Scriptures. These things being told me by the mercy of God, I listened to them attentively, noting them down, not

on paper, but in my heart. And continually, through God's grace, I recall them faithfully. And I am able to bear witness before God that if this blessed and apostolic presbyter had heard any such thing, he would have cried out, and stopped his ears, and as was his custom, would have exclaimed, O good God, unto what times hast thou spared me that I should endure these things? And he would have fled from the place where, sitting or standing, he had heard such words." Irenaeus, Letter to Florinus, in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5:20:5-7 (N&PNF, Second Series, vol. i).

We must assume that anything connected with Polycarp was from boyhood on a matter of profound interest to Irenaeus. This is evidenced to us by the vividness with which he recalled in advanced age his early impressions of his intercourse with Polycarp. We have further evidence in his familiarity with the behavior of Polycarp upon his visit at Rome in the days of Anicetus [say, 151-161 A. D.].

"And when the blessed Polycarp was at Rome in the time of Anicetus, and they disagreed a little about certain other things [i. e., other things than the question of the day upon which Easter should be celebrated], they immediately made peace with one another, not caring to quarrel over this matter. For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to observe what he had always observed with John the disciple of our Lord, and the other apostles with whom he had associated; neither could Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe it, as he said that he ought to follow the customs of the presbyters that had preceded him. But though matters were in this shape, they communed together, and Anicetus conceded the administration of the eucharist in the church to Polycarp, manifestly as a mark of respect. And they parted from each other in peace, both those who observed, and those who did not, maintaining the peace of the whole church." Irenaeus, in Eusebius' *Histohia Ecclesiastica* 5:24:16-17 (N&PNF, Second Series, vol. i).

And when Polycarp was later on martyred at Smyrna

[say, about 160 A. D.], Irenaeus wrote out the account which has come down to us and may be cited as *Martyrium Polycarpi*.

Irenaeus was a disciple of one who belonged to the sub-Apostolic circle. The actual discipleship was perhaps limited to his youthful days, but was doubtless continued in the spirit through his entire life. Though what Irenaeus tells of Matthew and of the Matthaean Gospel is for us confined almost entirely to the one work which is extant, *Adversus Haereses*, and therefore to be dated round 180 A. D., we must remember that in effect a much earlier date is to be considered the true one. Whatever he believed as to the authorship of the document he held in his hands ought to be regarded as possessing extraordinary weight.

That Irenaeus was in possession of our Matthew and thus of a writing consisting not merely of an aggregate or catena of discourses and perhaps of certain other materials, becomes clear when we note that he quotes and refers to narrative matter in our First Gospel. An example of quoted narrative matter associated with the name of Matthew is the following:

"..... the Holy Ghost says by Matthew, 'But the birth of Christ was on this wise.'" Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 3:16:2 (ANF, vol. i).

Further confirmation that what Irenaeus held in his hands was precisely our First Gospel may be gathered from the following excerpts:

"The Gospel according to Matthew was written to the Jews. For they laid particular stress upon the fact that Christ [should be] of the seed of David. Matthew also, who had a still greater desire [to establish this point] took particular pains to afford them convincing proof that Christ is of the seed of David; and therefore he commences with [an account of] His genealogy." Irenaeus, *Fragments from the Lost Writings of Irenaeus*, No. XXIX. Edited by P. Possin in a *Catena Patrum* on St. Matthew. (See ANF, vol. i, p. 573).

"Matthew, again, relates His generation as a man, say-

ing, 'the book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham' [Matthew 1:1]; and also, 'The birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise' [Matthew 1:18]." Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 3:11:8 (ANF, vol. i).

In fact, there can be no reasonable doubt but that Irenaeus possessed our First Gospel and believed it to have come from the hand of Matthew the Apostle. The following excerpt clearly makes Matthew the author:

"Matthew also issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, and laying the foundations of the Church." Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 3.1.1 (ANF, vol. i). Cf. Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5:8:1-2 (N&PNF, Sec. Series, vol. i).

Two other identifications of our Matthew that are to be rated as contemporary with those of Irenaeus may be gathered from writings due to Tatian, a disciple of Justin Martyr, and to Celsus, the first pagan philosopher known to have engaged in a formal effort to refute Christianity.

Tatian's *Diatessaron* is a narrative of the life of Jesus compiled by piecing together excerpts from the four canonical Gospels. We are in possession of an Arabic version, and this may contain many interpolations. At the same time, it must represent, at least roughly, Tatian's original work. It has been estimated that what we now have contains something over three quarters of our Gospel of Matthew. It seems very clear that Tatian had before him a copy of our First Gospel and no mere catena of discourses.

The testimony from the work of Celsus entitled *The True Word* has been preserved to us in the writings of Origen. The latter had information as to Celsus and concluded that he lived in the time of Hadrian (117-138 A. D.) and later.⁴ He was perhaps wrong as to the period and the true date may perhaps have been about 178 A. D.

4 "And we have heard that there were two individuals of the name of Celsus, both of whom were Epicureans; the earlier of the two having lived in the time of Nero, but this one in that of Adrian, and later." Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 1:8 (ANF, vol. iv).

—that is, a date nearly the same as that which may be assigned for the composition of Irenaeus' work *Adversus Haereses*. That Celsus had before him a copy of our Matthew may be seen from the following excerpts from Origen's extensive refutation entitled *Contra Celsum*.

"And that it was from intentional malice that Celsus did not quote this prophecy [as to the Virgin], is clear to me from this, that although he makes numerous quotations from the Gospel according to Matthew, as of the star that appeared at the birth of Christ, and other miraculous occurrences, he has made no mention at all of this." Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2:14 (ANF, vol. iv).

"And... this Jew of Celsus [a fictitious character introduced by Celsus] afterwards addresses Jesus: 'What need, moreover, was there that you, while still an infant, should be conveyed into Egypt? [Matthew 2:13-14]. Was it to escape being murdered? [Matthew 2:16]. But then it was not likely that a God should be afraid of death; and yet an angel came down from heaven, commanding you and your friends to flee, lest ye should be captured and put to death! [Matthew 2:13]. And was not the great God, who had already sent two angels on your account [Matthew 1:20 and 2:13] able to keep you His only son, there in safety?' " Ibid. 1:66.

So far, our external evidence for the Apostolic authorship amounts to this: We have the clear testimony of Irenaeus who knew Polycarp who in turn knew eye and ear witnesses. As to the identity of the document to which his testimony applies, we have in addition to his own statements the evidence of his contemporaries Tatian and Celsus. We may regard it as well established that our book of Matthew was in circulation in 180 A. D.

Let us turn now to the writings of Justin Martyr, teacher of Tatian, and see whether we may not properly reach the conclusion that in him we have one who corroborates Irenaeus both as to the document itself and as to its Apostolic authorship.

"For in the memoirs which I say were drawn up by His apostles and those who followed them, [it is recorded]

that His sweat fell down like drops of blood while He was praying and saying, 'If it is possible, let this cup pass.'" Justin, *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 103:8 (ANF, vol. i).

Before Justin, accordingly, there lay certain writings to which he refers as *The Memoirs*. Further, he states that these had been drawn up by the Apostles of Christ and by persons who followed those Apostles, and cites a narrative passage that is referable to our Luke. What were the writings thus identified? Our four Gospels exactly correspond. With two are associated the names of Apostles as authors. There is thus a precise answer to the question raised by the plural number of the "apostles." The remaining two of our Gospels have been from the earliest times attributed to Mark and Luke, followers of the Apostles Peter and Paul.⁵ If then we set up the hypothesis that *The Memoirs* with which Justin was occupied were precisely our group of four Gospels, we have a very full explanation of the statements in the passage quoted from this most ancient writer. But correspondence with facts is, alone, not enough to establish an hypothesis.

If, however, it can be shown that there is no other tenable hypothesis, we shall be able to complete the proof. I think we may do this with a good deal of certainty.

In order to maintain the hypothesis that *The Memoirs* cited by Justin differed substantially from our four Gos-

5 We have this as early as Irenaeus: "After their departure [i. e. after the death of Peter and Paul], Mark the disciple and interpreter of Peter, did also hand down to us in writing what had been preached by Peter. Luke also, the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the Gospel preached by him." Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 3:1:1 (ANF, vol. i).

Tertullian writes, a few years later: "The same authority of the apostolic churches will afford evidence to the other Gospels also, which we possess equally through their means, and according to their usage—I mean the Gospels of John and Matthew—whilst that which Mark published may be affirmed to be Peter's whose interpreter Mark was. For even Luke's form of the Gospel men usually ascribe to Paul." Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* 4.5 (ANF, vol. iii).

See also Papias (cir. 125 A. D.) as to Mark. The passage is preserved in Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 3:39 (N & RNF, Sec. Series, vol. i). See Canon Muratorianus (edited by S. P. Tregelles. Oxford, 1867) as to Luke.

pels, it will be necessary to assert that Justin had before him a certain group of documents and that his pupil Tatian some years later constructed his Diatessaron from something different. Moreover, The Memoirs were accepted as authoritative writings by the churches in Justin's time, for we find him saying:

"And on the day called Sunday occurs a gathering together into one place of all those dwelling in the cities or country places, and The Memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the Prophets are read for a suitable space." Justin, *Apologia* 67:3.

Here we have The Memoirs mentioned as documents on a par with the writings of the Prophets and used in a formal manner in the churches of that day. When Tatian undertook to compile the Diatessaron, did he use something different from these same accepted Memoirs? Are we to suppose that there were two groups of authoritative documents in a period of twenty-five or thirty years? Or, are we to suppose that Tatian employed, for example, a different Matthew than Justin?

Tatian recognized our Matthew. So also did Irenaeus and Celsus. Did Justin and the churches of his time do the same? Is it possible that there were essential differences when the interval in time was only a few years?

In order to show affirmatively by his own testimony that Justin had before him our Gospel of Matthew and regarded it as one of The Memoirs that were drawn up by Apostles, I propose to cite three principal passages:

"Accordingly, when a star rose in heaven at the time of His birth, as is recorded in the memoirs of His apostles, the Magi from Arabia, recognizing the sign by this, came and worshipped Him." [Matthew 2:1-2, 11]. Justin *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 106 (ANF. vol. i).

We have here a good identification of our Gospel of Matthew as one of The Memoirs of the Apostles. It is not discourse material that is referred to here but narrative.

We may, however, go a step further and note other evidence, evidence showing that Justin very certainly had our Matthew, narrative and all, in his hands. In the

work just quoted and at a point only a little earlier, we find Justin adverting to a series of facts narrated in the second chapter of our Matthew.

".... the Herod who, when Christ was born, slew all the infants in Bethlehem [Matthew 2:16] born about the same time [Matthew 2:16], because he imagined that amongst them He would assuredly be of whom the Magi from Arabia had spoken [Matthew 2:1-2]; for he was ignorant of the will of Him that is stronger than all, how He had commanded Joseph and Mary to take the Child and depart into Egypt [Matthew 2:13] and there to remain until a revelation should again be made to them to return into their own country [Matthew 2:13]. And there they did remain until Herod, who slew the infants in Bethlehem, was dead [Matthew 2:15], and Archelaus had succeeded him [Matthew 2:22]." Ibid. 103 (ANF, vol. i).

Here we have references to seven distinct narrative matters recorded in our Matthew and not belonging to any hypothetical catena of discourse material. Indeed, we may add two more details referable to the second chapter of our Matthew. In a passage already quoted, we have (1) the star which appeared [Matthew 2:2] and (2) the recognition of this star by the Magi together with their response in coming and worshipping [Matthew 2:11], matters referable to no other known writing than to our First Gospel.

But there is a third principal piece of evidence which may be adduced to show that it was our First Gospel which Justin had in his possession. Considerably earlier in the same writing, Justin quotes, and quotes as Scripture, narrative matter not known to exist in any very old document other than our Matthew. The narrative matter cited is found in Matthew 17:13.

"And it is written, 'Then the disciples understood that He spoke to them about John the Baptist.'" Ibid. 49 (ANF, vol. i).

Taking into account the nine correspondences between Justin's statements and the second chapter of our Mat-

thew and his formal quotation of Matthew 17:13, we should be very unreasonable if nevertheless we set up, without supporting evidence, the contention that he had in his hands a document differing from our First Gospel. There is no other known source from which Justin could have gotten his information or the narrative quotation.

In view of the evidence which we have had before us, it is now proper to claim that Irenaeus is supported by Cel-sus and Tatian as to the identity of the book, and by Justin both as to its identity and as to its Apostolic authorship. We thus arrive at the approximate date 155 A. D. The fact that Irenaeus knew Polycarp at a period still earlier and that Polycarp belonged to the sub-Apostolic circle warrants us in believing that the testimony of Irenaeus in effect reaches back to an indefinite point in the first half of the second century.

Consider, for a moment, the period at which this man Polycarp lived. He was martyred at Smyrna close to 160 A. D. His Christian life stretched back of his martyrdom a total of eighty-six years, so that we must place its beginning close to 75 A. D.⁶

Here then is a Christian life which in its earlier years heavily overlaps the Apostolic period and the lives of men who were taught by Apostles and which in its later years heavily overlaps the post-conversion times of men like Irenaeus. We do not know what Polycarp learned as to our First Gospel and its authorship nor what in respect to these matters he transmitted to Irenaeus and others. It is nevertheless very probable that he, as well as Ignatius, was round 110 A. D. in possession of our Matthew and was well advised as to its history. It is hardly credible that Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, was in possession of this book at a time when Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, was unaware of its existence and contents.

6 In *Martyrium Polycarpi* 9:3, the Pro-Consul seeks to persuade Polycarp and the wonderful old man refuses: "But when the Pro-Consul insisted and said: 'Perform the oath, and I will release you, revile Christ,' Polycarp replied: 'For eighty-six years I have served Him, and He has never done me any wrong. How then am I to blaspheme my King who has saved me?'"

It is, accordingly, reasonable to suppose that when in his youth Irenaeus first knew Polycarp he knew a man who was very well acquainted with our Matthew and was informed as to its authorship. That is to say, we have evidence that Ignatius knew our Matthew because of his exhortation as to bearing the diseases of all.⁷ It is probable also that Polycarp at this same time was likewise in possession of the First Gospel, so that it is not at all unreasonable to suppose that Polycarp knew precisely this document when Irenaeus was a mere youth.

Did Polycarp get information as to the authorship of our Matthew from authoritative sources and, if so, did he communicate such information to Irenaeus? It is impossible to answer with certainty. At the same time, we do find that Irenaeus professes to be informed and we do know of a very possible channel through which he may have gotten reliable information. Irenaeus knew our First Gospel and he assigned it to Matthew the Apostle. Was he right?

That he was indeed right is indicated, not only by the wonderful way in which he was linked with the Apostolic age, but also by the notable fact that no breath of suspicion has come down, from his or any other ancient period, that suggests any other authorship for the First Gospel than that of Matthew the publican. He and no other is stated and assumed to be the author.

The facts, then, as to the testimony of Irenaeus, both as to the identity and the authorship, and the corroboration of these points by Justin, taken in connection with the facts as to Polycarp and the probability that he had our Matthew in his hands round 110 A. D.—all these considerations point to the accuracy and truth of the clear testimony of Irenaeus that Matthew the Apostle wrote the First Gospel. And there is heavy corroboration of this in the fact that antiquity, in so far as it is known to us, did ascribe this Gospel to this authorship and to no other.

Further, modern opposition rests upon an unproved.

7 Epistle of Ignatius to Polycarp 1:3.

and, I think, unprovable hypothesis to the effect that our Matthew is a derivative of Mark. The position for the Christian believer to take is, I think, substantially the following: Investigation of the available ancient evidence of an external character is very decidedly in favor of the Apostolic authorship of Matthew. Modern opposition is founded on the unproved priority of Mark; so that there exists no real and substantial reason for abandoning the belief that has come down from the most remote times. This position is a good one and one that can be defended.

The situation is good, but it can be bettered. In fact, Christians ought not to rest content. We ought to be aggressive. Moreover, in the present case, it is dangerous to take up merely a defensive position. We should seek to take up a position such that we may aggressively claim the sub-Apostolic literature as affording clear and unambiguous proof of the Apostolic authorship of our Matthew. Otherwise, the way is left open for the assertion that our First Gospel came into existence at a relatively late date. And this carries with it the claim that the Apostle Matthew could not have been the author.

Now, I do not think it at all necessary to give way at this point. To my mind, the thing to do is to recognize the remedial move and then set about carrying it out. What I see is this: Instead of acquiescing in the contention that our Matthew is a derivative of Mark and therefore a subsequent writing, we should inquire whether the facts require us to take this view. The priority of Mark is the thing that opens the way to the maintenance of a late and consequently non-Apostolic authorship for our First Gospel. I believe that the facts do not require the priority of Mark over our Matthew but the exact reverse. That is, if we are going to allow that one or the other of these two Gospels is a derivative of the other, the facts derivable from the two texts require us to understand that Mark is secondary to our Matthew.

Once this reversal of the view now acquiesced in by so many is accomplished, the sub-Apostolic literature will be found to contain evidence of such sort as almost to re-

quire and not simply to permit the Apostolic authorship of our First Gospel.

MODERN OPPOSITION—HYPOTHESIS OF A PRIOR MARK.

In recent years, however, a different conception has come to the fore and has gained wide acceptance. For a long period, now numbering many years, the proposition has been maintained that our Matthew is a derivative of Mark, or of a slightly modified Mark. To-day, writers on Synoptic matters very generally acquiesce in this position.

An almost immediate corollary is the non-Apostolic authorship of our Matthew. The correspondence with Mark in choice of incidents, in manner of presentation and in selection of narrative forms of expression and narrative words is of such an extensive character that it is difficult to believe that one who was an Apostle and an eye and ear witness of a large part of the history narrated would be content to be so dependent a follower of another in the portrayal of the events. Naturally, the strength of this rejection of Apostolic authorship depends upon the cogency with which the priority of Mark may be argued. If this priority, as many suppose, is capable of being firmly established, then we may regard the non-Apostolic authorship of our First Gospel as well settled. But, if the present writer is correct in his view that the dependence of our Matthew upon Mark, or a document not much different from our Mark, has never been logically established, and that really there has never been a thoroughgoing and scientific investigation of the matter, and that such investigation will result in the quick collapse of this hypothesis, then the conception of the non-Apostolic authorship of our Matthew is at once deprived of about all the affirmative support it possesses. So far as is known, no one who was in a position to have knowledge of the facts has ever denied that Matthew the Apostle wrote our First Gospel. The possibility of such a denial is based on the modern hypothesis of a prior Mark exemplar to our Matthew.

I ought, perhaps, to give at this juncture some justification for the severity of my words relative to the doctrine that our Matthew is dependent upon Mark.

"PRIORITY OF MARK" ON AN INADEQUATE FOUNDATION.

Let me begin by saying that no proper foundation has been laid. For example, an important line of argument employed by the advocates of Markan priority is based on parallelisms in Greek between Matthew and Mark. That is, many instances of regular Greek in Matthew are paralleled by irregular Greek in Mark. It is argued, in effect, that Mark could not be dependent upon Matthew, since that would mean the rejection of regular Greek and the substitution of irregular. On the other hand, if the priority of Mark be assumed, no such difficulty arises: we have a reasonable thing in that the Matthaean writer simply rejects irregular Greek and replaces it by regular. For example, in Matthew 4:1 Jesus is said to have been "led up into the wilderness," whereas, in Mark 1:12 we have "the Spirit driveth him forth into the wilderness." The word translated *driveth forth* is judged an irregularity in Greek because of the violence assumed to be resident in the sense. It is conceived that the Matthaean writer might very well have refused so rough a word and substituted one of milder import; but that the Markan writer would not have rejected the mild word for the sake of replacing it by a rough one. Many similar instances have been listed, though no one seems to have formed a single complete list. It is fairly evident that this line of argument is based on the assumption that the two Gospels are related to each other in such way that one or the other of them was composed in Greek while the other, also in Greek, lay before the secondary writer. That is, it is assumed that the translation from one to the other was effected from Greek to Greek. This is fundamental. And yet, so far as I know, no one has ever set forth in any considerable way a proof that there was a Greek-to-Greek transition. But the competent

reader will find, upon investigation, that this is not the only part of the foundation missing.

In carrying out this line of argument, the advocates of Markan priority have drawn up individual, fragmentary lists. Thus, Dr. Edwin A. Abbott gives a short list, Prof. Sir John C. Hawkins another, Archdeacon W. C. Allen still others, Bishop A. J. Maclean yet another. But no one seems to have regarded it necessary to combine the lists, search out the irrelevant inclusions in the combined list, and give the remainder a testing out to see whether they are or are not words which were in current use in Apostolic times. Of course, it is fundamental to the argument that a secondary writer would not reject a word or expression fully warranted as above reproach and substitute a word or expression in use among ordinary people. But no one appears to have thought it necessary to compare Mark and Luke for the purpose of noting whether a secondary writer might not reject good Greek occurring in his exemplar and substitute doubtful Greek for it. Furthermore, no one seems to have given earnest attention to the study of the Markan style for the purpose of ascertaining whether the writer was not so habitually given to the use of unclassical and unapproved Greek that his own vocabulary would often seem preferable to that of the Matthaean writer. As a matter of fact, the objectionable Greek in Mark paralleling unobjectionable Greek in Matthew may in great part be shown to be current Greek in the times of the Apostles; Luke does have doubtful Greek paralleling good Greek in Mark; and the Gospel of Mark is full of irregular Greek from beginning to end. In short, those who advocate the priority of Mark seem to be unaware of what should be done in order to give their linguistic argument scientific value or else to have shrunk from the heavy labor necessary to the purpose.

Let us now view the priority matter from another angle. The three Synoptic Gospels resemble one another in respect to the broad fact that they all regard the Ministry of the Savior in the same way. They all begin with

John the Baptist and his work. Matthew and Luke have each two chapters of preliminary matter and in these introductions to the Ministry they differ widely from each other. Once the Ministry is begun, however, all three follow much the same programme. Near the close, Matthew and Luke are in good agreement, as to matter, to the point where Mark breaks off at Mark 16:8. Beyond this point, Matthew and Luke differ markedly in their material. It is conceived that this situation constitutes a strong argument in favor of the priority of Mark over the others. But let this matter be told in the language of an upholder of Markan priority, Dr. A. S. Peake, Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester. I quote from his Introduction:

"When we compare the Gospels in detail, we observe that Matthew and Luke alone give any account of the life of Jesus before His ministry, and that their accounts are completely independent of each other, touching at very few points and difficult to harmonise. It is therefore most significant that when the two authors begin to tell the story of the ministry, they tell it in the same way. It is natural to conclude that the agreement between Matthew and Luke is to be connected with the introduction of Mark. And this is confirmed by the fact that as soon as Mark comes to an end Luke and Matthew begin to differ again in the incidents they relate. The original ending of Mark seems to have been lost. The last twelve verses which are absent in our best MSS. are a later addition, and Mark breaks off suddenly at xvi:8. When Matthew and Luke reach this point their agreement ends and they go different ways. Luke and Matthew therefore agree in the main within the limits covered by the Gospel of Mark. Outside these limits, both before Mark begins and after he ends, they are completely independent. Thus Mark binds Matthew and Luke together....

"It has already been shown that Mark binds Matthew and Luke together in respect to the general plan of the Gospels. This supplies a very cogent argument in favour of the priority of Mark." A. S. Peake, *A Critical*

Introduction to the New Testament, (preface 1909, title page 1916), pp. 101-102, 110.

Do we really have here a cogent argument in favor of Markan priority? We doubtless have a strong argument favoring the view that Mark played some part. Consider whether the facts are not well satisfied by the assumption that the three Gospels were singly derived one from another in the following chronological order—Matthew, Mark, Luke. We thus start with Matthew. The Ministry naturally begins with a brief account of the work of the Baptist. The Gospel of John begins its narrative thus. There is nothing further to explain when we note that Mark starts off with a short narrative concerning John and his work. That Mark and Matthew are in agreement at the point where Mark breaks off is not surprising when we reflect that they have been in close agreement both as to order and matter from Matthew 26:1 and Mark 14:1 on. They may very well have been in agreement to the end. That Mark should lose a leaf and the two Gospels be found in agreement up to the break is nothing to cause surprise. Luke comes next. As he is, *ex hypothesi*, following Mark and not Matthew, we are not to wonder that he uses Mark as soon as possible; nor that what he adds at the end differs from Matthew. As to the agreements with Mark in choice of incident, and in general order, they are readily understandable, when we consider that Mark being secondary to Matthew, Matthew would necessarily be in agreement with Mark; and that Luke being secondary to Mark, there would be agreement of Luke with Mark. The cogency of the argument for Markan priority is not at all evident, especially in view of the consideration just taken into account that when Mark is given the second place and Matthew the first, the facts are just as well explained.

The basic structure on which the hypothesis of a prior Mark has been erected is either altogether wanting in places or else in certain cases where present is involved in various kinds of weakness. The facts have been inadequately ascertained, and the reasoning is often of a per-

verted character. The hypothesis may be expected to collapse any day. It so deserves. It has not been built up by an impartial and thoroughgoing ascertainment of the pertinent phenomena presented by the textual matter and their relations to external facts. Nor have the parts been put together with the care and precision that should characterize the work of those who build permanent structures.

With the hypothesis of a prior Mark out of the way, the Apostolic authorship of our Matthew may be held with great confidence.⁸ History knows no other claimant than Matthew, one of the Twelve. The authorship, if dealt with at all, was in the early days always referred to the Apostle. The external testimony begins, as we have already seen, at least as early as Justin Martyr, who witnesses to the identity and to the Apostolic authorship of the book. Irenaeus, who was, in effect closer yet to the time of origin because of his acquaintance with Polycarp, witnesses also both as to identity and as to Apostolic authorship.

THE CHRISTIAN'S INTEREST IN APOSTOLIC AUTHORSHIP.

I wish now to point out the desirability of maintaining the authorship by Matthew, one of the Twelve, as to which strong attestation and no contradiction come down to us from early centuries. Of course, desire plays no part in logic, and we cannot expect to maintain something merely because of our wish to do so. On the other hand, logic is of no service unless applied, and we can not look for application unless desire is back of it. In fact, we may fail of an aggressive point of view, because we are but faintly inclined to search out the facts and laboriously establish their consequences. An apprehension of the value of the undertaking is an incentive and motive

8 The present writer is already engaged in refuting, in very considerable detail, the hypothesis of a prior Mark. Those interested in going into this matter will find the initial installment in *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October, 1923, pp. 539ff., under the title, *The Synoptic Problem*.

for keeping on to the end. Then, we may quit, in the face of attack, if we do not highly value the thing at stake.

In the present case, we have had handed down to us the belief that the Apostle Matthew was the human author back of our First Gospel. We are now asked to give up this view and accept instead the authorship of some unknown person writing at some unknown time. And for what reason? For the reason that Apostolic authorship is incompatible with a certain hypothesis, an hypothesis that is itself under suspicion.

Of course, we should seek the truth. But truth is not to be expected as a result of the unscientific methods pursued in the erection of this hypothesis.

Let me call attention to some of the things we would lose, if we give way in this matter. First, as to the Virgin Birth—We have two New Testament statements as to this. The pre-existence of the Word perhaps involves it, but we would have to reach this conclusion by argument. The statements in the Infancy Sections of Matthew and Luke are explicit. One has come down to us from the hand of a writer who was not himself a companion of the Lord, nor a hearer that stood in His presence. I do not wish to disparage his account. Not at all. He doubtless obtained his information in a very direct manner—perhaps even from the lips of the only human being who had immediate knowledge. Nevertheless, if Luke stood alone, the Virgin Birth would have as its human voucher one who was not an Apostle. The Matthaean account, if the book is to be referred to Matthew, one of the Twelve, is warranted by the authority of an Apostle, one who had avenues of information which can not be assumed for Luke. Moreover, his narrative is extraordinarily explicit. Note particularly Matthew 1:18, 20 and 25. If the author was some unknown person, writing at some unknown time, we have a great reduction in the value of this testimony. The doctrine of the Virgin Birth would then have back of it no known Apostolic authority. Shall we let this testimony go? If so, we ought to get something in return—something more than an hypothesis that can not be convincingly set forth.

Again—we believe that Jesus was, on the cross, a substitute for our sins. No doubt, one can find this doctrine insisted upon in the New Testament elsewhere than in the Gospel. But, as to such a momentous matter, it is natural that we would like to have a clear warrant from the lips of the Savior Himself. In Matthew (20:28) and Mark (10:45), we have such an assurance. Jesus Himself says that He came to give His life a ransom for many. If Mark be given the priority and Matthew made secondary, we still have the words and they still are to be regarded as coming from the Savior. But our authority for saying that they are the words of Jesus is less strong. Instead of an ear witness, we have one who was not an immediate follower and whose backing by Peter can not everywhere be perceived. Shall we turn over the priceless warrant of a known companion of the Lord standing back of the words on which our souls rest except at the inexorable command of Truth? That moment has not yet arrived.

And still again—Matthew is the only detailed life of the Savior for which it is possible to claim direct Apostolic authority. If we make this Gospel secondary to Mark, we shall have only the guarantee of Peter somehow in some way back of the life story. As matters stand now, we have an eye and ear witness back of a detailed account. If we are to part with this, we should be offered something based upon a real foundation and not upon a one-sided consideration of some of the facts.

Let us stand squarely upon the claim that our First Gospel has come down to us from Matthew, one of the Twelve. We have everything to gain and nothing to lose by maintaining our stand.

I expect not only the collapse of the hypothesis of a Mark prior to Matthew, but the firm establishment of the reverse proposition. That is, I look for the erection, on the ruins of the view that Matthew is secondary to Mark, of an impregnable theory that Mark was derived from Matthew. In case I am not over-sanguine in this matter, there will probably be some very important results. I

am assuming now, as generally in this article, that the Synoptic Gospels are in some way mutually dependent. Without saying at the present time whether I favor this doctrine of dependence or not, I proceed to set forth certain consequences which follow upon the assumption that the three Gospels may, in respect to their several origins, be arranged chronologically in the following order: Matthew, Mark, Luke. As the book of Acts may be added to this chronological succession (Acts 1:1-2), we have this order:

Matthew, Mark, Luke, Acts.

Now it so happens that in Acts, in an address of Paul, we find a triple conflation of Old Testament texts. This same triple conflation is also found in I Clement; so that we have very good proof that the book of Acts was extant at the time of the composition of the Clementine epistle. The two conflations are worthy of our close attention.

<p>I have found a man after my heart, David the son of Jesse, I have anointed him with eternal mercy. I Clement 18:1.</p>	<p>I have found David, the son of Jesse, a man after my heart." Acts 13:22.</p>
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With the exception of the clause, "I have anointed him with eternal mercy,"⁹ we find the whole of the Clementine triple conflation in Acts. That is, we have the following equations:

I Clement	=	Acts
I have found	=	I have found
David	=	David
after my heart	=	after my heart
the son of Jesse	=	the son of Jesse

These are all Old Testament conceptions. See I Sam. (LXX, I Ki.) 13:14; Ps. 89:20 (LXX, 88:21); and such passages as Ps. 72:20; I Chr. 10:14 and 29:26. There

⁹ The presence of this clause in I Clement is doubtless to be referred to a recollection that it was associated, in Ps 89, (LXX, 88), with the words, "I have found David".

can hardly be any serious doubt but that the author of I Clement was familiar with the book of Acts.

Once the sequence, Matthew—Mark, has been established, we will be prepared to claim the entire chronological succession, Matthew-Mark-Luke-Acts-I Clement, and consequently to maintain that our First Gospel was composed considerably in advance of I Clement. Prior to I Clement we must place Acts; prior to Acts, the Gospel of Luke; prior to this, the Gospel of Mark; and prior to this, the Gospel of Matthew.

There are two other considerations tending to push the original composition of our First Gospel back to the earliest days of Christianity. (1) There is a good deal of testimony to the effect that our Matthew was originally written in Aramaic. The composition of this document would naturally be placed prior to the origin of our Greek Matthew, the effect being to widen the interval between I Clement and the actual composition of our Matthew. (2) There is also evidence tending to require a very considerable interval between the Third Gospel and the book of Acts. Both documents came from the same pen and there is abundant evidence to establish this point. But, there is also evidence which tends to show that we must assume a considerable interval of time to explain the difference in language.

I am very confident, indeed, that the sequence, Matthew—Mark, can be established; and I am reasonably sure of the points as to an Aramaic original and as to a considerable interval between Luke and Acts. Altogether, then, the period of time that would have to be granted for the entire period between the original Aramaic Matthew and I Clement is very considerable—say, fifty years or more. Even with a late date for the Clementine writing—say, 100 A. D.—the original Gospel record would require a very early date. So early is the resultant date that we can well understand the universal ancient ascription of the First Gospel to the Apostle Matthew, one of the Twelve.

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ARTICLE IV.

THE ORIGIN OF BIBLICAL TRADITIONS.¹

BY PROFESSOR HERBERT C. ALLEMAN, D.D.

In this volume Prof. Clay feels that he has placed the capstone upon the structure of constructive archaeology on which he has been at work for more than fifteen years. In *THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY* for April, 1910, and for October, 1922, the writer presented at some length Prof. Clay's hypothesis in the several stages of its unfolding. This hypothesis was first sketched in his *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites* (1909). It dealt with the subject of Hebrew origins. What was the cradle-land of the Hebrews? They were Semites. But whence came the Semites? Where were they differentiated from other races and in what environment were their institutions born? The question was beset with difficulties because the evidence with which scholars had to deal was slight. Prof. Clay states the situation in the scholarly world when he first promulgated his thesis thus:

"Arabia was the home of the Semites. The Arabs first entered Babylonia about 2800 B. C. and gave that land its first Semitic inhabitants, who under the leadership of Sargon created a great empire. About 2500 B. C. a wave of Arabs entered Canaan and furnished it with Semites. A little later another wave poured out of Arabia and overflowed Syria. These were called Amorites; and they established the Hammurabi dynasty. About 1400 B. C. Arabia again 'spat out,' and a wave of Arabs called the Aramaean, under Joshua, furnished Palestine with its Hebrews. It was not thought possible that a civilization and culture existed in Aram in what had

¹ The Origin of Biblical Traditions: Hebrew Legends in Babylonia and Israel. By Albert T. Clay. Yale University Press: New Haven, Conn. Pp. 224.

been known as the patriarchal period, for the people in that land, at this early time, were still in the state of barbarism. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, therefore, were considered by some to be Babylonian gods, and by others as the personification of Arab tribes, clans, or ethnological groups that came into Canaan under Joshua; Israel's sojourn in Egypt was generally regarded as a myth."

With such conclusions concerning the early history and civilization of the Hebrews, the next step was logical, namely, that Israel had borrowed its culture from the Babylonians, the people who had repeatedly invaded Syria and Palestine. The Hebrews owed their use of letters to Babylonia, as the Tell-el-Amarna Tablets show. The earliest law-code of the Old Testament shows marked parallels to the Code of Hammurabi. Even the religion of the Hebrews was extensively influenced by Babylonia. The Babylonians had an elaborate astrological system which furnished the *motifs* of Israel's early traditions. Even the marvel of her monotheism was learned from the Babylonian star-gazers, who had worked it out of their discoveries of celestial harmony. The so-called myths of Genesis were revamped Babylonian sagas. The Hebrews had even appropriated Babylonian mythological kings and converted them into patriarchs in order to secure for themselves an ancestry. Naturally the intelligence of the early Hebrews was correspondingly discounted; they were semi-civilized Arabs from the desert. Their literature was late, and borrowed at that—the Hebrew priests of the Babylonian captivity appropriating the mythology of their captors and writing it into the their scriptures.

This theory, in its extreme and bizarre form, ran riot under the Pan-Babylonian school, which found a Babylonian original for Israel's religion and for practically all of Israel's reputed history up to the time of Moses and of much beyond that time. Yahweh, the god of Israel, was a borrowed Marduk, the chief deity of the later Babylonian pantheon, while elements of the Marduk cult entered into the Christian doctrine of the person, work

and states of Christ. In this extreme form the theory soon spent itself, but its implications as to the religion of Israel lingered as the underlying assumptions of a large number of Old Testament critics, the only difference among them being the manner in which they explained the borrowing. Prof. Clay had not so read his Old Testament. He believed the theory to be fundamentally wrong. At best it involved a vast amount of credulity. There were linguistic difficulties. The so-called Babylonian originals didn't show originality. Prof. Clay tells us in this book how he came to suspect the theory. He was working on a Nippur tablet when he discovered that the name of a god written ideographically KUR-GAL was scratched in Aramaic characters to read, *wr*"; i. e., for the ideogram meaning "great mountain" the equivalent in Aramaic characters was *Ur*. With this clue, confirmed by further equations and the readings of Prof. Peiser of Koenigsburg, he studied, one after another, the names of the Babylonian deities and discovered their western origin. Ashur, Adad and Ramman are western names and survive in Syria. The great Marduk (Amur-uduk) is undeniably western, surviving in a great variety of names, such as Uru-salem (Jerusalem). Ashur, the great Assyrian god, was traced etymologically and geographically in Asher, Ashirta, Ashera, etc., West Semetic also are Nebo, Dagan and Lachamu. Nin-IB (more properly, En-Mashtu) is directly associated with the mythical mountain of the setting sun, *Mash* surviving in *Damascus*. Many other sweeping and surprising etymologies were made, involving such facts as that the Nisin dynasty of Babylonian kings (2357-2154 B. C.) was Amorite; similarly, the Akkad dynasty (2847-2665? B. C.). In his *The Empire of the Amorites* (1919) Prof. Clay reconstructed more than two millenniums of history prior to 2000 B. C., showing that the capital of the Western Empire was Mari, on the Euphrates, at about 330 B. C. and tracing Amorite influence thence as far west as Cappadocia, as far south as Egypt and as far south-east as the Persian Gulf. In *A Hebrew Deluge*

Story in Cuneiform a wider breach was made in the wall of Pan-Babylonism by showing that the Flood Story had been "Akkadianized" before 1966 B. C., that the Gilgamesh epic was one of a half-dozen forms of the Semetic flood story, that it is full of Amorite words, that *I-lu* (Hebrew *El*) appears as a generic word for God. In a second tablet (a fragment of the Etana legend) Prof. Clay showed that the five names of the I Kish dynasty (in the 5th millennium B. C.) which are preserved are Semitic, and several are West Semitic, and of the I Uruk dynasty (about 4000 B. C.) Lugal Marda, Tammuz and Gilgamesh were flesh and blood West Semites who ruled in the Lebanon region. "We find," says Prof. Clay, "that Zu, designated the 'storm bird,' who lived in Syria, had humiliated Enlil, the chief god of Babylonia, and had robbed him of his prerogatives as 'lord of land,' when a shepherd named Marad, probably the Biblical Nimrod, later called Lugal-Marad, 'King Marad,' came to the rescue, and with some kind of strategy, ensnared Zu, and pursued him as far as 'the distant mountain Sabu,' in the Lebanon range."

Similarly cuneiform inscriptions state that the mother of Tammuz was Zertu, a Semitic name. As is well known, the Tammuz cult persisted in Syria, where are to be found many ruined monuments of his worship. Moreover, the chief seat of the worship of his consort Ashirta (Ishtar) was Kahl lab, which is also Aleppo. Similarly Khumbaba, hitherto looked upon as a mythical personage, is revealed to be an Amorite who lived in the West and who humiliated Babylonia at the time of Gilgamesh, about 4000 B. C.

Hitherto Prof. Clay has confined his investigations chiefly to linguistic material, satisfied that his findings abundantly sustained his thesis. In his last volume he follows a new line of proof, his arguments being grouped under the heads: migration, climate, names, language. Under the first he lays down the principles: (1) The mere conqueror, while leaving such evidence of victorious invasion as steles, monuments and linguistic remains, ex-

ercises an influence on religion which is either exceedingly meager or nil; (2) when migration takes place, including also the exiling or enslaving of peoples, the religion and culture of the peoples migrate with them and their influence is found in the land to which they go. Applying those principles to the nations concerned in his investigation he finds that the evidence bears out his contention that Egypt and Babylonia, the presence of whose arms has left so many marks in monuments and inscriptions, exercised a negligible influence upon the religion and culture of the land; whereas the people of Amurru, in their settlements in Egypt and Babylonia, with a tenacity of religious belief which is their pre-eminent characteristic, strongly influenced the religious ideas of those among whom they settled. Prof. Clay reviews the Egyptian campaigns² in Asia from Anthis (2900 B. C.) on. There was surprising military activity, especially in the days of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. The social and political influences exerted by Egypt upon Amurru, as determined by the excavations, are shown by such archaeological remains as victory steles, scarabs, pottery, etc., found in practically every site in which the excavator's spade has been thrust. Besides these expeditions into Syria, there was a well-directed missionary effort to establish the worship of the Egyptian god Amen in the land. "Thutmose III dedicated three cities to that deity in the Lebanon district; Seti I set up his own statue in Bashan, representing himself as offering a libation to Amen. Rameses III also dedicated cities in Syria to Amen-Re, and built a shrine for his worship in Canaan. At the time of the Egyptian supremacy in the land, if the local ruler refused to sacrifice to the Egyptian gods, it was a sign of open revolt. Although the expressed devotion to 'the sun' in the Amarna letters retained the Amorite name of Shamesh, it was nevertheless intended to show obeisance to the Egyptian god... Even the people were taxed in support of the shrine erected." Nevertheless, in spite of those efforts, there does not seem to

2 Pp. 34 ff.

have been any permanent influence upon the religion of Canaan by the Egyptian religion. This lack of influence, Prof. Clay insists, is due, in the first instance, to the fact that Egypt never colonized in Syria.

On the other hand, there is much evidence that the Semitic influence on Egypt was considerable. Prof. W. Max Mueller, the noted Egyptologist, said that extensive Semitic influences had already been exerted upon the language of Egypt at the very earliest historical period. The influence of Byblos as early as 3000 B. C., and the veneration of the goddess of that city in Egypt, Clay thinks, imply migrations from Amurru. "In the dark period from about 2350 B. C., at the very time the Amorites occupied the thrones of Babylonia, it is conceded that many Semitic loan words were introduced into Egypt." This is confirmed by Prof. Flinders Petrie who informs us of the discovery of "a remarkable cylinder of jasper with the name of Khandy, a Syrian king of Egypt." "This," he further says, "seems to show the political influence of the VIIIth dynasty, and is closely in accord with Prof. Clay's view of an early Amorite kingdom." "It is now generally conceded that the Hyksos, who invaded and held Egypt in the early part of the second millennium B. C., were Semites from Syria."

As to Amorite influence on the religion of Egypt, Prof. Mueller in his work on Egyptian Mythology says that Amorite myths were adopted. An illustration of this is to be found in the conflict between the god of light and the primeval monster of the abyss, known as "the Creation myth," which the Babylonians also borrowed. Isis and Osiris are identified with the Tammuz and Ishtar legends of Syria. Following the Hyksos occupation of Egypt, he further tells us, the worship of Asiatic deities became fashionable in Egypt, a fact observable again and again in history, due to the greater sincerity and tenacity of the prevailing cultus. Among the gods of Amurru worshipped in Egypt are Ba'al, Resheph, Shalman, Astarte, Qedesh, Nikkal and Anat.

The case of Babylonia is still more striking. Babylo-

nia was earlier on the march and evidence of Babylonian conquests in Amurru go back to the fifth millennium B. C. One of the earliest Babylonian kings known, who boasts that he subdued all lands—Etana—has a West Semitic name. Lugal Marad and Tammuz we have seen, were known before the fourth millennium as conquerors in the West. The consort of Tammuz, called Ishtar in Babylonia, was a West Semitic queen and ruled in Aleppo. Gilgamesh, who followed Tammuz, overthrew Humbaba of the Lebanon region. Lugal-zaggisi, king of Erech, conquered the Westland as far as the Mediterranean, as also did his successor, Sargon (c. 2350 B. C.), and, a little later, Naram-Sin. Gudea, the patesi of Lagash, secured building materials in Amurru. The kings of the Fourth Ur dynasty likewise had considerable to do with this land, for they held it in subjection until the Amorites, about 2350 B. C., overthrew their rule. Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and his allied kings, as we learn from Gen xiv, invaded the Westland in support of the suzerainty of Elam. We need not rehearse the later invasions of Assyria, as they are familiar to us. But while there was this long chain of invasion, there was no migration westward. The migration of Abraham, if Clay's theory as to the location of "Ur" in Mesopotamia is accepted, was a movement within the sphere of Amorite influence. Amurru does not show the traces of the Babylonian religion which should abound if the Pan-Babylonists are right. To the contrary, the religious remains of Canaan and Syria—high places, masseboth, etc.—all reflect a mountainous country. The Babylonian language was widespread during the middle half of the second millennium B. C., but of the prevalence of Babylonian culture there is little evidence, on the testimony of such archaeologists as Sellin, Macallister, Sayce and others. Prof. Sayce says, "The more strictly archaeological evidence of Babylonian influence upon Canaan is extraordinarily scanty." Even the Code of Hammurabi had its antecedents in Amurru³—and, moreover, Hammurabi was an Amorite.

3 Clay. *Miscellaneous Inscriptions*, p. 18ff.

As to the religious influence of Babylonia the Pan-Babylonists were confident. "The deities of Canaan," wrote Prof. Sayce in 1908, "were to a large extent Babylonian, with Babylonian names. The Babylonian gods Ana, Nebo, Rimmon (Ramman), Hadad and Dagon meet us in the names of places and persons, and Ashtoreth, who shared with Baal the devotion of the inhabitants of Palestine, is the Babylonian Ishtar with the suffix of the feminine attached to her name." Since those words were written, however, one by one these deities have moved westward. Hadad and Rimmon have been accepted as Amorite deities who migrated to Babylonia at an early period. Dagon has been traced back to almost the third millennium B. C. in Amorite inscriptions. Nebo is too unmistakably West Semitic to need comment, while Prof. Clay has brilliantly shown that Ashirta was an Amorite queen of Aleppo. Similarly, Ana—Anoth, Antu (cf. Josh. 15:59, Jud. 3:31)—is now recognized as having been worshipped in Amurru at a very early period and thence to have been carried to Egypt. At Thebes there was a priesthood of the goddess in the time of Thothmes III (1479-1447 B. C.), and Rameses II gave his daughter a name which meant "daughter of Anoth." Formerly no deity was accepted as more confidently Babylonian than Nin-IB. *Bit-Nin-IB* is mentioned in the Amarna Tablets as being near Jerusalem. There are a few occurrences of the name in the Akkad dynasty. "But," says Prof. Clay, "in the nomenclature of the Nisin dynasty (2337-2154 B. C.) when the Amorites flooded the country, many names are found compounded with that of the deity, including a king's name." Moreover, recent discoveries have shown that the name is to be read *En-Urta*—the element *Ur* being Western, as has been shown. What has not been explained—and cannot be explained, except on this hypothesis—is that the deities which are indisputably Babylonian, such as Marduk and Bel (the usurper of Enlil's position from the days of Abraham), are not even named in the recovered remains of Canaan.

Not only is antecedent probability strongly against migration from the softer and more alluring alluvial lands

of Egypt and Babylonia to the bleaker hills of Amurru, but the archaeology of those lands tends to disprove it. On the other hand, evidence of migration from Amurru to Egypt and especially to Babylonia abounds. In Genesis we have an echo of the Semitic migration when "they journeyed eastward...into the plain of Shinar" and built Babel. Prof. Clay had contended (and in Ch. VI gives fresh linguistic proof) that eight out of ten of the names of the antediluvian kings of Babylonia had originally Amorite names. Then follow the links of the chain already given—the five postdiluvian kings with Amorite names, the recovery of the identity of Humbaba, Gilgamesh, Ishtar and Tammuz as West Semitic personalities and of Mari as the ancient capital of Amurru, of subsequent Amorite rulers such as Enbi-Ashdar, Ishu-El, Elmuti, etc. (Akkad and Ur dynasties). From about 2350 B. C. we have the names of three contemporary dynasties—those of Nisin, Larsa and Babylonia—whose annals are full of Amorite names. It was in this period that Prof. Clay thinks the Deluge story was transplanted (cf. Ch. VII). With the knowledge, therefore, that there was such a constant influx of Amorites in almost every period down to 2000 B. C., as well as later, we should expect to find that the land was thoroughly permeated with the religion of the Amorites. Prof. Clay finds a mass of evidence to prove this, as a matter of fact. He finds it in such names as *Bab-El*, *Ne-Uru-Gal* (Nergal) *Urta*, *Adad*, etc., etc. He finds it also in the climatic conditions reflected in the so-called nature myths. He finds it especially in the large number of Amorite proper names in all periods of Babylonian history⁴ particularly in the early periods. "On a basis of the study of the foreign names in the nomenclature of Babylonia, without any other data, it would be possible to reconstruct considerable history of the movements of ancient peoples into that land."

In his analysis of the Babylonian creation story as the claimed original of the Bible story Prof. Clay makes a challenge which must be dealt with by those scholars who

4 Clay, Personal Names of the Cassite Period.

have confidently assumed that all the Semitic stories were cosmogonic, and that all presupposed a primordial watery chaos from which all subsequent creation emerged. The basis of these stories is the slaying of a god. Of the form preserved in *Enuma elish* there is a two-fold rescension—in the first, *Ea* is the hero and *Apsu* is slain; in the second, *Marduk* is the hero and *Tiamat* is slain.

In meeting the claims of the Pan-Babylonists Prof. Clay has applied his fourfold argument.

Nothing further needs to be said about migration; it was eastward, and not westward, as we have seen. In claiming the Babylonian origin of the "myth," writers have relied on two arguments, one bearing on climate, the other on number, both Biblical and Babylonian stories being arranged in a seven-fold form. It is to be noted, however, that the Babylonian is not cosmogonic like the Biblical. The seven-fold division, which is natural in the latter, is quite artificial in the former. The Pan-Babylonist explanation is that the Babylonian is the more original and is a nature-myth symbolical of the change of season from winter to spring. "The belief that the world originated out of water was a consequence, Assyriologists hold, of the climatic conditions of Babylonia. During the long winter, the Babylonian plain, flooded by heavy rains, looks like a sea (Bab. *tiamtu*, *tiamat*). Then comes the spring, when the clouds and water vanish, and dry land and vegetation appear. So, thought the Babylonian, must it have been in the first spring, at the first New Year, when after a fight between Marduk and Tiamat, the organized world came into being." (Driver: *Genesis*, p. 28). This is the one important argument on which the Babylonists have based their theory that the Hebrew story of creation was borrowed from Babylonia. It is given by Jastrow, Zimmern, King and others. But Prof. Clay shows, by a mass of meteorological observations taken at Bagdad as well as by his own observations, that it is the late winter flood in Babylonia which is the myth; "in fact, as I myself have found, from October to January, the water in the river is at its lowest level." In Syria,

however, are found just the conditions assumed for Babylonia.

Prof. Clay then calls attention to the fact that the majority of Assyriologists take Apsu and Tiamat as proper names. If they were originally common nouns, he denies the meaning of "ocean" to *apsu*, giving convincing reasons for taking it as the word for "land's end." *Apsu* was that on which the *shashu* (firmament) rested—the "edge" of the earth. In the *Enuma elish* the *shashu* is represented by the halved Tiamat, the ends of which rested on *Apsu*. But how did this word, which as an Amorite word meant "land's end," come to have the meaning "Ocean" or "deep" in Babylonia? Prof. Clay's answer is, when the Amorites descended from the higher lands into the alluvium they went to the land's "End" and there established a city which we know as Eridu. Here, on land only a few feet above the sea and by its very shore, they established their home. It is not difficult to understand how their deity Ea, who in their native land had been the god of the earth (i. e., En-Ki) and also of its springs and fountains became at Eridu the god of the ocean. Similar transformations have occurred in other religions, with migration.

Since the recovery of the *Enuma elish* by George Smith the monster Tiamat slain by Marduk has been taken as the original and equivalent of the *tehom* of Gen. i. Of this Clay says, "It has appeared for years almost incredible that Assyriologists could make themselves believe that this corrupted word (Tiamat) which from the earliest times had lost the consonant *h* and for which there is no etymology in Babylonian, could be the origin of the Hebrew *tehom* and the Arabic *tihamat*. Moreover, the use of Tiamat elsewhere⁵ makes her a mother-goddess of a people who lived in a *mountain*, there being nothing whatever to connect her with the sea. In two other Babylonian legends the sea-monster (Labbu, "a lion," and *Siru*, "a serpent") is represented as masculine, "probably representing some unfriendly sea-bordering nation." Al-

5 The Cuthean Legend

though the *Enuma elish* represents Tiamat as begetting monster serpents, vipers, etc., in the entire list of her eleven aids only "fish-men" (of doubtful translation) connects her with the sea, and there is absolutely nothing to show that she personified the "watery chaos." As Prof. Jastrow testifies, "there is no assumption of a chaotic condition at the beginning of time with the watery element in control."

Prof. Clay pursues the analysis of the *Enuma elish* to the end, showing not only the Amorite elements in almost every proper name but also its inadequacy to be the original of a cosmogonic story like that of Genesis.

With equal vigor Prof. Clay attacks the theory that the Garden of Eden was in southern Babylonia. "In the light of the excavations conducted in that land and of our present knowledge of its physical geography," he says, "it is clear that civilization could not have had its origin in the alluvial belt of the lower Tigro-Euphrates valley or delta. Above Hit, however, where the alluvium begins, there are natural agricultural districts close to rivers, extending over a wide area." And he quotes in support of his position Sir William Willcocks, the British engineer, who was so much impressed with the agricultural possibilities of this part of Western Asia that he locates the Garden here. In his book *From the Garden of Eden to the Crossing of the Jordan* Mr. Willcocks points out the conditions which make it probable that this part of the country was occupied earlier than the alluvial plain. It was in this part of Amurru that the very ancient kingdom of Mari existed which had ruled Babylonia in the fourth millennium B. C. and furnished that land with its gods. Here was found the kingdom of Ana, also written Khana, which furnished Babylonia with its god Ana, and Palentine and Phoenicia with the corresponding Anat. It was from this land that the Semite moved into the alluvium when it was ready to receive him.

In dealing with the Deluge Story Prof. Clay again applies his fourfold test with the result that the position

taken in his *Amurru the Home of the Northern Semites* is greatly strengthened. He calls attention to the complacent acceptance of the Babylonian theory of the origin of the story on the authority of a few great names. For example, Sir James Frazer, in his widely advertized *Folk Lore in the Old Testament* quotes the late Prof. Jastrow as saying, "The basis for the Biblical story is the yearly phenomenon of the rain and stormy season which lasts in Babylonia several months and during which time whole districts in the Euphrates valley are submerged." Babylonia knew the floods of inundation but not, of rain. However, the Gilgamesh epic pictures a flood of rain "which quickly overwhelms and covers the mountains." The small Babylonian and Assyrian fragments and the Berosis story do not mention the cause of the Deluge; but the Morgan fragment says:

On the morrow let him cause it to rain a torrent

.....

Let him cause it to rain a tempest.

In the Sumerian version the flood was likewise caused by mighty storms, "the two forces which caused the deluge being the same as those given in the Gilgamesh story, namely, *sharu*, "the wind," and *makhu abubu*, "destructive rainstorm." The Babylonian word for "river-flood" is *melu*, but in none of the flood stories does that word occur.

When the narrative in Genesis is recalled and the rainfall of the Lebanon mountains, known to be 50 inches, and the further fact that there are springs at the foot of mountains like Hermon from which rivers have their source, and when it is further remembered that Egypt—another alluvial country with annual inundations—*has no flood story*, it looks as if the coloring of the Biblical story was—at least, not Babylonian.

Of the linguistic arguments which Prof. Clay has developed in detail it is impossible in a brief space to give a summary. Suffice it to say that he finds the chief proper names, the deities, and many characteristic

phrases, Amoritic. Atra-Khasis is the now-accepted name of the hero of the story in four of the fragments; both elements of the name are Amoritic. The governor of the ship is Buzur-Amurru; the name speaks for itself. The deities are such as Adad, Nabu, En-Urta, Sharru, Ur-ra-gal, Ea—all, Amoritic or West Semitic.

We have reviewed the book at such length because, due to its necessarily semi-technical form, it may not have the circulation it deserves, although the chapters are preserved in the lecture form in which they were originally given. No more valuable piece of work in the field of Biblical archaeology has been done in the last two decades. The recognition of his work on the part of Assyriologists has been remarkable when it is remembered how radical his theory is. Prof. Clay has been an *enfant terrible* to many writers who have settled down to the making of books on "assured results of Biblical criticism." No conformist ever accepted ecclesiastical *dicta* more complacently than the present generation of book-makers on the Old Testament have accepted the Babylonian theory of the origin of Biblical traditions. "The house has been built—why not live in it?" Along comes this ruthless destroyer who thrusts his pick into the very foundation stones. He is not welcome. And what boots it if the scene of the origin of the traditions be shifted from east to west or from south to north? But they miss the point of Prof. Clay's work who see no more than that in it. He has not only changed the map of Biblical traditions as they had come very generally to be accepted but he has turned back the hands of the clock. The restoration of this ancient civilization means that Israel need no longer be regarded as a race of semi-barbarous Arabs who, at a relatively late date, borrowed their religion, their institutions and even their ancestry from Babylonia, but that their civilization, including their traditions, was deeply rooted in their own past history; that there is room on their chart for all they have put there; and that underlying so-called Biblical traditions as well as Babylonian mythology there is real his-

tory. "Again and again," says Prof. Clay, "we had the experience of transferring names from what had been regarded the realm of mythology, or what had been regarded the creations of an ancient fiction writer, to the pages of history." E. g., Nimrod is not a Semitic Hercules, the giant of an idle fable, but a king of flesh and blood of the I Utug dynasty. Tammuz was not originally "the personification of the son of springtime," or "the personification of some kind of wood," but the fourth king of the early Erech dynasty. Gilgamesh was not the mere hero of a flood myth but a king who performed a real and natural service for his country. Nowhere, in all this material do we find the gods coming down and becoming men. "It cannot be shown from the literature of the ancients that in the Semitic world a single god ever became mortal." On the other hand, we are finding more and more deities turning out to be deified persons—especially kings. This but confirms what Hoeffding said years ago, "The essence of legend consists in the idea of a wonderful personality who made a deep impression upon human life—who excited real admiration, furnished an example, opened new paths."⁶ Prof. Clay's work is a powerful demurrer, presented in the proper court, in the name of archaeological science asking for a stay in judgment on a matter all the pertinent evidence of which is not yet in. It is an authoritative caution to be less precipitate in reconstructing our Bibles, to accord as much antecedent probability of creative genius to the Western as to the Eastern Semites, and to look a little deeper into Biblical traditions before dismissing them as a borrowed mythology.

Gettysburg, Pa.

6 *Philosophy of Religion*, pp. 199f.

ARTICLE V.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

BY J. A. SINGMASTER, D.D.

(From the October (1923) Quarterlies.)

A FINITE GOD.

William Hallock Johnson writing in *The Princeton Theological Review* on the question "Is God Almighty?" speaks of the doctrine of a finite God as follows:

Philosophy unites with religion and morality in an emphatic protest against the doctrine of a finite God. When Mr. Rockefeller was asked how much money would really satisfy a man, he is said to have replied, "A little more." A finite Deity cannot satisfy the thirst of the mind for the Infinite or the thirst of the soul for the living God. "The central demand of reason is for a God who is the self-existent ground of all reality," and when a Deity of attenuated attributes is proposed to the mind there is an instinctive and insistent demand for a more majestic and more ultimate object of its contemplation and of its worship. We do not wonder that there is a "Veiled Being" in the background behind Wells' "God of humanity," that the Absolute lies behind the shadowy and less real finite God of Bradley, and that Sir Oliver Lodge while impressed with the reality of "powerful but not almighty helpers" is impressed as well "with the fearful majesty of still higher aspects of the Universe." A student of religion has noted the fact that "man's religious consciousness has invariably caused the rejection of every system which limited the omnipotence of God in order that His holiness, righteousness, and love might be preserved intact"; and a theologian of radical tendency has recently said that "all who think of God as finite feel the need of an infinite background of reality out of which

risers the divine personage whom we call God." The worshippers of a finite Deity are in fact much in the position of savage peoples who worship tribal gods and yet believe in a creative Spirit who made the world.

THE DECALOGUE.

In the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Dr. B. Jacob speaks of the unique character of the Decalogue, as given without human mediation.

All the other commandments had been given to the people through the mediation of Moses, to whom alone God revealed Himself, but the basic commandments of the Decalogue were imparted to the people by God Himself without any mediation and for eternal remembrance. Thus it has been written down by God Himself—not in a book the script of which may be blotted out but engraved indestructibly on stone tables, the prototype of the "tables of the heart." Through this procedure a greater degree of indispensableness is attached to the laws of the Decalogue, though all the laws are God-given and require the same amount of obedience in their execution. It is very important to keep this in mind in order to get a true estimate of the Decalogue. Thus it was not of importance to put up the highest and most subtle requirements and to compete in this respect with other ethical systems. The requirements of the Decalogue are, on the contrary, comparatively modest. But they are not supposed to exhaust in any way the divine will, and they are only a specimen thereof. Thus, for example, the duty of love towards the poor, the stranger, etc., are not stated expressly, though undoubtedly they formed part of the Israelitish religion from its very inception. How indeed could God have hurled at men, under thunder and lightning, such words as: thou shalt love thy neighbor? And yet the Decalogue not only frightens people away from deeds, but illumines also the depths of the human heart and arrests its sinful impulses, seizing at the root of the deed, the sentiment. And in it the other man be-

comes already a neighbor, a subject of respect and sympathy. Thus the ten commandments cover the entire range of religion and morals. But those assertions concerning the tables are due to the clear consciousness that in them we possess the masterpiece of the religious genius of Israel, a truly divine work of art, to which nothing evolved by the mind or hand of man can compare. Therefore they will form forever the most sacred possession of Israel, of his religion of ethical monotheism, of monotheistic ethics.

THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON FAITH AND ORDER.

Bishop Boyd Vincent of the Episcopal Church pleading for Christian unity in an article in *The Christian Union Quarterly* writes of the Possible Outcome of the next Conference as follows:

Naturally, the one first, or final, question in many minds will be, Which ideal of church unity is likely to prevail in such a conference? Will it be the Roman ideal of Papal supremacy and infallibility and the submission of all the rest of Christendom? Will it be the Greek ideal of rigid, uncompromising, creedal orthodoxy? Will it be the Anglican ideal of the historic episcopate as the universal external bond of unity? Will it be the Presbyterian ideal of ministerial parity and synodical government? Will it be the Federation ideal of co-operation in Christian activities? Which ideal? Who can tell? Ought we to try to tell? We know how we shall each go into such a Conference—each with our own strong convictions and principles. But who can tell where we shall come out? One thing is sure—that, unless we also go into Conference ready to follow wherever the Spirit of God shall lead us, we had better stay out of it altogether. Another point: Is the outcome to be simply a deeper and more manifest Christian unity or also a more formal and organic reunion of Christendom? There is a difference, of course; but, whatever strong convictions on this point we may have as individuals, or as individual churches, it is

worth while to note that in all the official language used in the proposal of the World Conference, there is no commitment to either view. That outcome is left to the leading of the Holy Spirit. But at least two hundred and fifty bishops of the Anglican Communion have put themselves on record in these words: "What we desire is not compromise but comprehension; not unifomity but unity."

ORIENTALS IN AMERICA.

In an article in the *American Journal of Sociology* (Nov.) by T. M. G. Weatherly the situation of Hindus in the West Indies is presented. We quote an interesting paragraph.

The transplanting of considerable masses of Orientals in the New World has perhaps affected the Indians themselves more than the local communities. Anything but socially pliable, the Indian is nevertheless quietly passing through a period of disorganization and readaptation. The caste system was one of the first elements to crumble under the pressure of migration and settlement. Language in an environment dominated by English, has been gradually changed, particularly since general education has flourished. Familiar institutions have been generally modified. Women, at first scarce, are now nearly equal to the men in numbers, and the break-up of the old order is strikingly illustrated in the increasing education of girls. Dress and mode of living show strange mixtures, with a pronounced tendency toward ultimate conformity to European fashions. In religion the Hindus tend gradually to lose connection with their old beliefs, or definitely go over to Christianity; while the Mohammedan portion of the population holds more strictly to the ancestral faith. In some communities there is evidence of massing and group economy, but in general economic pressure appears to be too strong to permit effective resistance to the process of cultural transformation.

NEITHER POLITICS NOR RELIGION.

This is the title of an article in the *Anglican Theological Review* (Dec.) by B. T. Stafford in which he vindicates the Episcopal Church of the charge.

Then, as now, the Episcopal Church produced after her kind. It is a fact of our national history that she has given of her laymen for high public positions much more largely than any other Christian body. But why? In any community, men educated in a living obedience to law and order are called to leadership. This Church has never been the purveyor of opinions, and she has taught the law and order of divine grace. The religious mentality thus formed has reacted in fitting men for the larger public responsibilities. For law and order incarnated in character make it reliable.

Religious feeling is a real and mighty force in the life of the individual and of the community. It has two sources. As has been stated, one is the intense arousement of the emotions. The other is the normal fruitage in the soul of spiritual principles, more or less understood. Usually, the former feeling is the output of soul-agitation over the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and the consequent wrath to come. It is entirely negative in nature, and therefore fails for long to satisfy the soul. The latter is the fruitage of the principles of the Cross, vitalizing the soul with their freedom of hope and courage. There is nothing exceptional in the process, because every true principle radiates a bright dawn and a glorious noon-day. The way to have both as living experiences is by the cordial acceptance of the principles of the faith, and then by teaching—and more teaching—to come to understand their content. Thus grows the spiritual feeling of rest which St. Paul defines as “the peace of God which passeth all understanding.” Such religious feeling is worth while for this world and every other one. So entirely opposed is the method of the Prayer-Book, in stabilizing believers in spiritual assurance, to that commonly prevalent in those formative days, that it is not strange

that the Episcopal Church was said not to have any religion. Because the psychological science involved is sound, the culminative evidence of the passing years vindicates her position.

In the *International Review of Missions* Dr. Robt. E. Speer asks the question "Is Identity of Doctrinal Opinion Necessary to Continued Missionary Co-operation?" He affirms first his own personal faith in the quotation which is printed. In speaking of the confessional difficulties in the way of church fellowship between the Reformed and Lutherans he quotes Dr. J. L. Neve at some length to show how real and how complicated the whole issue is. Dr. Speer pleads for tolerance among Christians.

Before attempting to answer these questions, the writer of this paper ought perhaps, in order to avoid all misunderstanding, to state his own point of view. He accepts the whole of Christianity as set forth in the New Testament. He believes unqualifiedly every article of the Apostles' Creed. No language is adequate to state his conception of Christ. He believes that He is more and greater than any words can ever express, "the Word made flesh," God incarnate, reconciling the world to Himself, the only Saviour, our Lord and our God. He believes in the truthfulness of the record of Christ's life, including His miracles, and rejoices with great joy in the miracle of the Virgin Birth, and of the real resurrection of Christ and of His future, personal advent. He believes that it is God alone who through Christ saves men, not by their characters, nor by any works of righteousness which they can do, but by His own grace through the death and life of His dear Son. As to the Bible, he accepts the doctrine of the Westminster Confession and regards its authority as supreme, not in faith only but also in the practice, conduct and religions of men. I am afraid this may seem to many very antiquated and unmodern, and the writer must be prepared to accept whatever limitations of value in the modern mind such views

set upon his judgment as to the doctrinal limits of tolerance and the doctrinal basis of co-operation.

FEUDALISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN.

J. Merle Davis in the *International Review of Missions* speaks of the danger of a sudden transition from Feudalism to Christianity.

More and more the Japanese are seeking in democracy and in the liberty of Christian institutions the solution of their social and moral problems. Feudalism, however, is such a complete antithesis of Christian democracy that the sudden step from one to the other is full of peril. The nation is learning that social liberty must be matched with social control, and that license without strengthening the moral forces spells individual deterioration and social chaos. The dilemma is heightened for Japan from the fact that her traditional sources of control—her moral codes and feudal relationships—have lost much of their vitality, while the nation has not yet adequately found the dynamic sources of control of the Christian interpretation of democracy. Here is the essence of Japan's moral and social problems—the danger of abandoning the old before she thoroughly grasps the new.

THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITY IN THE NEAR EAST.

In spite of the frightful conditions in Turkey S. Ralph Harlow writing in the *Moslem World* believes that Christianity has a great opportunity through its charities to win the hearts of the persecuted.

The relations of Turkey, unfortunately, with the so-called Christian powers, have been anything but Christian in spirit. Economic expediency and moral deficiency have been controlling elements in the subtle policies of the great powers toward the Near East situation. Today the vast majority of the schools lie in ruins; thousands of the students are dead or in exile. Ninety-five

per cent of the Christian constituency of these schools are gone.

America's refusal as a nation to accept responsibility in the Near East at the close of the war has been a great factor in making this horrible situation possible. Where our Government has failed, the people of America have responded. For the orphan and the widow, the terror-stricken exile, the Near East Relief and the American missionary have gone in and, loyally backed by the gifts and the sympathy of the American people, have opened their arms and gathered the destitute and afflicted orphans, the agonized mothers, and the old and feeble. To-day in the refuge camps, where death by disease and epidemic run riot, theirs is the touch of sympathy in the midst of suffering.

Around the table at Lausanne oil has weighed more than blood in the discussion. Six million crosses of young men who gave their lives in France and Flanders or on the peninsula at Gallipoli for humanity have been forgotten, and the demands for oil and economic concessions have stifled the voices of men who with their last breath challenged our nations that the oppressed of the earth should be free that their sacrifice might not be in vain.

Gettysburg, Pa.

ARTICLE VI.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

PAPINI'S LIFE OF CHRIST.

Life of Christ. By Giovanni Papini. Freely translated from the Italian by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York. Cloth. Pp. 416. Price \$3.50.

The publication of Papini's *Life of Christ* in Italy three years ago at once created a profound sensation. Over 100,000 copies have been sold in his native land and 30,000 in France. How many have been sold elsewhere I do not know, but the publishers in America made seven printings of it in three months of 1923. Various translations have appeared. It is doubtful, however, whether any of them excel the translation before us. Being ignorant of Italian, I can only commend the fine, spirited English of Mrs. Fisher.

Papini is an interesting, striking character. Born in Florence in 1881 of parents too poor to give him much schooling, he founded his first periodical at 22, his second five years later, and his third five years after that. In the meantime several volumes appeared from his pen. During these years he was an anarchist, atheist, and nihilist, attacking social and religious institutions with malicious invective. During the World War he came to a halt in his false philosophy, because he saw no solution to the terrible crisis through which the nations were passing. Induced to take up the Gospels once more and to study history in their light, the scales fell from Papini's eyes and he saw that "the sole solution of the evil of the world is the transformation of human souls" which can be brought about alone through the religion of Jesus Christ. He made a full surrender to Him, and at once determined "to write this book about Christ which seems to him insufficient expiation for his guilt."

And now as to the book itself. It would be unreasonable to expect from even a distinguished convert, in the ardor of his first love, a calm, critical discussion of the religion and character of our Lord. The son of a volatile race, gifted with a rare power of expression and a rich imagination, Papini's soul glows with the passion of a

new uplifting experience. Like a knight of old he enters the army of the great Captain to follow Him to the utmost. In defense of his conservatism and in reply to the taunt that he is a reactionary he says, "The man who is thought to be behind the times often is a man born too soon." Christianity is not a piece of antiquity but "for very many something so new that it has not even yet begun." "Jesus was born in a stable, a real stable, not the bright airy portico which Christian painters have created for the Son of David, as if ashamed that their God should have lain down in poverty and dirt. And not the modern Christmas eve Holy Stable either made of plaster of Paris, with little candy-like statuettes, the Holy Stable, clean and prettily painted, with a neat, tidy manger, an ecstatic Ass, a contrite Ox, and Angels fluttering their wreaths on the roof—this is not the stable where Jesus was born." Thus the first paragraph.

He follows the Master step by step with tenderness, sympathy, loyalty and courage. His invective he pours out upon men like Augustus, "cowardly in war and vindictive in victory, false to his friends, cruel in reprisals;" like Herod, "one of the most perfidious monsters," a barbarian, son of a traitor, voluptuous, suspicious, impious, greedy of gold and of glory. Against the dark background of dissolute rulers and hypocritical priests Jesus stands forth in the whiteness of His holiness and the splendor of His divine royalty.

There are no doubt imperfections in the great work of Papini. He is too realistic at times and there are other faults, but we are inclined to the opinion of a reviewer that it is altogether likely that this book will become a world classic.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

ON PREACHING.

The Art of Preaching. By Dean Charles R. Brown, Divinity School of Yale University. The Macmillan Company, New York. 12mo. Pp. 250. Price \$1.75.

This volume contains the 1922-23 series of Lectures on Preaching given at Yale on the Lyman Beecher Foundation. It was a unique compliment to Dr. Brown that he should be asked by his own faculty to give this course. This was especially so because he had already delivered a previous course on the same Foundation before he was connected with the school. That was in 1905-6 and the general subject of that course was "The Social Message

of the Modern Pulpit." It was based largely on the story of the Exodus. For this reason Dr. Brown tells us in the "Foreword" to the present volume, that he at first declined the invitation. However, when his colleagues renewed the invitation and insisted on it he yielded to their judgment. Certainly every preacher, or prospective preacher, who reads these lectures will be glad that he did yield, because they will find here a most interesting, informing and stimulating course of lectures.

While Dr. Brown disclaims any attempt to give in them anything like a formal treatise on homiletics, he more nearly follows the general lines of such a treatise than perhaps any one of the previous lecturers on this Foundation. This will be apparent from the titles of the several lectures. There are eight in the series on the following subjects: The Significance of the Sermon; The Basis of the Sermon; The Content of the Sermon; The Measure of the Sermon; The Lighter Elements of the Sermon; The Delivery of the Sermon; The Setting of the Sermon; The Soul of the Sermon. Like most of his predecessors, Dr. Brown has given quite free play to the personal element in the preparation of his material, and this is one of the most charming features of the lectures. The many references to, and the illuminating use of his own experiences as a preacher during the many years that he was a pastor, give a vitality and a reality to the discussions that would have been impossible if he had confined himself to the abstract or merely technical presentation of the subject. If he could give us a "thorough going treatise on homiletics" that would be as interesting, as we have no doubt he could, it would be a distinct and most valuable contribution to the literature on that subject.

We cannot resist the temptation to give a few extracts from some of the lectures in the hopeful assurance that such a taste of the feast of good things spread in the volume will make every one of our readers want to go through the entire menu and have a full meal, or many of them. The only difficulty will be to make selections and keep within reasonable bounds required by our limited space. Take this for example from the first lecture on The Significance of the Sermon: "When the day of judgment comes, the Son of Man sitting upon the throne of His glory and separating ministers on His right hand or on the left as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats, will not look at our barrels. Our barrels will not be there. The contents of those barrels will all have

been rolled up like a scroll and consumed with fervent heat. But the people to whom we have preached will be there. Some of them on the right hand, and, alas for us! some of them on the left. And that will be the terrible and searching test applied to our work as preachers. The type of character we have produced, or have failed to produce, as we have done our work with fidelity and efficiency or as we have scamped it with slovenly or chilly indifference—that will be the test applied to determine whether we ourselves shall be found upon His right hand or upon the left. The final significance of every sermon is to be manifested at last not in the profundity of its thought or in the grace of its literary finish but in the spiritual results which it achieves."

The second lecture is on *The Basis of the Sermon*, and in this the lecturer places great emphasis on the importance of making the Bible the basis of our preaching rather than current events, or politics, or the latest sensational novel. He also strongly emphasizes the value of expository preaching and says some fine things as to what expository preaching really is, and on the prominent place which this kind of preaching gives to the Scriptures. Speaking of the real basis of the sermon he says: "The habit of taking texts is more than a convention. In my judgment the best sermons grow directly out of texts. The best sermon themes are suggested mainly by the habitual, thoughtful, devotional reading of the Scriptures. The varied literature of the Bible covers a wide range of human need and privilege. . . . This literature is so rich in homiletic material that the Bible preacher need never run dry. He always has something to preach about next Sunday. He has something worthy and vital to preach about. The sensational preachers are forever running dry. The frantic efforts and the loud screeches which sometimes emanate from the pulpits of such men are like the unhappy sounds which come from some old fashioned pump in the country where the water in the well is so low that the pump will not draw. It has to be "primed" by the pouring in of a sufficient supply of water from outside the well to start it. These preachers who draw their homiletic supplies from the puddles of current events rather than from the well that is deep find themselves similarly embarrassed."

Just one more short paragraph from the last lecture on *The Soul of the Sermon*: "You will seek to make the subject matter of your preaching as strong and as well-reasoned as it lies within your power to make it. You will

strive steadily to improve and perfect your literary style until the expression of your truth is the best that you can furnish. You will study the methods of delivery until voice and face and hand shall all agree in giving the finest possible interpretation to your thought as you declare it from your pulpit. But behind, and beneath, and above all else, you must strive for that certain mystic element which comes by divine endowment, bestowing upon your performance the high and permanent quality of spiritual effectiveness."

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

Sent Forth. By W. E. Tilroe, Professor of Historical and Pastoral Theology in the Maclay School of Religion, University of Southern California. The Abingdon Press, New York. 12mo. Pp. 255. Price \$1.75 net.

We have here another good book on preaching. If the reading of good books on the subject could make good preachers, there should be no poor ones to-day. At least a score of such books have come from the press in this country and England during the past year. Some of them have been superlatively good. We would place this volume in this class. It has evidently come from a man of wide and long experience both in preaching himself and in teaching others how to preach. He seems to have garnered here the wisdom of a lifetime to furnish food not only for the present generation, but for generations to come.

There is a brief introduction by Ezra A. Healy, Dean Emeritus of the Maclay School of Religion; a short poem by Bishop Quayle, "All Day With God;" and an introductory chapter by Dr. Tilroe. The book proper consists of twenty chapters with the following titles: Perspective; The Personal Equation; The Preacher's Ideals; Star Preachers; Little Foxes; Jesus the Preacher; The Shepherd Christ; The Cultural Christ; The Pedagogy of the Nazarene; The Thrills of the Bible; The Regnant Christ; The Curative Christ; The Son of the Carpenter; The Despair of Pilate; The Bible Church; The Seven Churches; An Unconverted Preacher; Evangelism; The Posthumous Gospel; and Over the Border.

Most of these titles will suggest the general trend of the discussion in the chapters which follow. But what they cannot suggest is the richness and suggestiveness of the thought with which the chapters are crowded. Dr.

Tilroe is a master of the art of packing great thoughts into small compass. Most of his sentences are short, but they are weighty, and couched in a strong and vigorous English that is irresistible. Many of them are like barbed arrows which having once entered the mind refuse to be dislodged. There is hardly a page from which it would not be easy to select sentences which might well be taken as life mottoes or as slogans for a campaign. A unique feature of the book is the fact that at the close of each chapter at least a page of the most striking sayings in the chapter follows. This makes it easier to recall them, but without this they must impress even the casual reader. Here are a few samples taken almost at random: A really worthwhile minister gets his second and hundredth call to preach while wisely about his work... A minister dies of the commonplace.... A preacher who is not a theologian should be ashamed to draw his salary.... The preacher commonly gets what he goes after.... No man really preaches except as he meets God.... The juniper tree is poor timber for a pulpit.... How many sermons like the Dead Sea end in themselves.... The Bible is a page of the autobiography of God.... The fault finder can always find fault.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

Ambassadors of God. By S. Parkes Cadman. A Re-issue by the Macmillan Company, New York. Large Octavo. Pp. 350. Price \$1.50.

When this splendid volume was first issued we gave an extended review of it. (See January Number 1921, page 95.) Further examination and more careful reading and study of it since then have only served to confirm and strengthen the hearty endorsement which we then gave to it. It has become so well known that it hardly calls for any extended notice again at this time. It has been generally recognized as one of the very best and most suggestive discussions of the subject of preaching that has come from the press in many years. We are glad, indeed, to call attention to this re-issue of it at a reduced price, which will place it within the reach of every minister who is really interested in his work as an "Ambassador of God." Of course, this ought to mean every man who attempts to preach at all.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

THE EMOTIONS. A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY.

Das Gefühl in seiner Eigenart und Selbständigkeit, mit besonderer Beziehung auf Herbart und Lotze. Eine psychologische Untersuchung im pädagogischen Interesse von J. Hubner. Bleyl & Kaemmerer, Meissen, Germany, 1898.

While Hubner's production of a little over 140 pages is not very recent it is still of interest and has a practical value for those instructors who aim not to be mere pedagogues but real teachers. Its purpose is to be of assistance and guidance to all who are engaged in teaching and particularly those who are concerned about religious education. As it aims to be of practical service it contains many helpful suggestions, while on its theoretical side, which is by no means the least important part of the treatise, it will prove stimulating to the reader, whether he finds himself in complete agreement with its conclusions or not. The writer begins with a thorough investigation of the functions and importance of the feelings. He voices a vigorous protest against the materialistic-monistic conceptions of the Herbartian psychology, that have at times exercised such a tyrannical influence on pedagogy, in this country as well as in Europe. In opposition to this mechanical, mathematical psychology, that lays such extreme weight on intellectualism, Hubner arrays himself on the side of Lotze, and insists on the independence and practical importance of the feelings. Only to single out two passages of special interest, we might call attention to his references to folk psychology, (p. 20 sq.) and what he says, very truthfully, about the mental differences of the two sexes. (Pp. 39-41).

Successive chapters treat of the extent and nature of the feelings; their relation to religion, art, the perception of time, the intuitions and to character; the possibility of effecting changes in the feelings and of educating them is then discussed, together with an attempt to effect a scientific classification. The whole ends with a chapter devoted to the practical application of the author's conclusions to pedagogy, which will undoubtedly be of real value to those teachers who are interested in something more than examination requirements and prescribed reading courses.

J. C. MATTES.

OLD TESTAMENT.

Folk-Lore in the Old Testament. By Sir James George Frazer. One Volume, Abridged Edition. The Macmillan Company, New York. Pp. xxx + 476. \$5.00.

This abridgement of the three-volume original, retaining all "the meat" but packed a little more tightly, brings the monumental work of Sir James George Frazer on Old Testament Folk-lore, within the reach of every student of the Bible. Of the work itself it is to be said that probably no other living scholar could assemble such an array of material. It is the author's thesis that, despite the high moral and religious development of the ancient Hebrews, they, in common with all other races, passed through a stage of barbarism and even of savagery, which probability is confirmed by an examination of their literature. It is to the illustration and explanation of these relics of ruder times, preserved like fossils in the Old Testament, that the work is devoted.

The treatment is in four parts: The Early Ages of the World; The Patriarchal Age; The Times of the Judges and the Kings; The Law. The scope of the investigation is somewhat limited as the author has treated some of the most outstanding of the early survivals in the Old Testament such as the sacrifice of the first-born, the law of the uncleanness of women, the scapegoat, etc.—in other works.

One is tempted to accept such a book as this as a "comparative anatomy of the mind," and it is indeed an invaluable store-house. It will be most wisely used, however, for illustration and not for exegesis. All the archaeology for interpretation is not yet in and there may be some revolutionary changes in that sphere in the near future. E. g., Sir James quotes with approval the words of the late Prof. Jastrow, "The basis for the Biblical Story (of the Flood) is the yearly phenomenon of the rainy and stormy season which lasts in Babylonia several months and during which time whole districts in the Euphrates valley are submerged." Babylonia knew floods of inundation but not of rain. (Cf. Clay: *The Origin of Biblical Traditions*, p. 146 ff.). It is as difficult, in a field so alluring, for the comparative religionist to keep free from dogmatism as for the new psychologist, in his field.

The value of the book would have been enhanced by more careful proof-reading.

H. C. ALLEMAN.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL.

Some Living Masters of the Pulpit. By Rev. Joseph Fort Newton, Litt.D., D.D. George H. Doran Company, New York. 12mo. Pp. 261. Price \$2.00 net.

Within recent years several volumes have been published dealing with the great preachers of the past. Among these were "The Princes of the Church" by Sir William Robertson Nicoll, editor of the British Weekly: "The One Great Company," by Frederick Lynch, Editor of the Christian Work, and "The Pulpit and American Life" by Professor A. S. Hoyt. This volume by Dr. Newton is unique in that it deals with the character and work of men who are still living with two exceptions. These are Bishop Charles D. Williams who has died since the book was published, and Dr. Gunsaulus who passed away just before the book went to press, but whose name was evidently on the list of the men to be discussed before he died. From various references in the book, it would seem that from his very earliest years in the ministry, if not from his student days, it has been the habit of Dr. Newton to keep a very full diary of impressions gained from the men whom he heard preach. This has given him a great wealth of material on which he has drawn frequently in his sketches for this volume. There are fifteen chapters on as many different ministers, and while some of them are more widely known than others, all of them are men of unusual power in their several communions. Here is the list, George A. Gordon, John A. Hutton, Dean Inge, Charles E. Jefferson, W. E. Orchard, Charles D. Williams, A. Maude Roydon, Samuel McChord Crothers, A. Reaveley Glover, S. Parkes Cadman, Reginald J. Campbell, William A. Quayle, George W. Truett, Edward L. Powell and Frank W. Gunsaulus. It might have been expected that Dr. Newton would be somewhat embarrassed and restrained by the fact that the subjects of these sketches are still living and might read themselves what was said about them. But there is no evidence that such was the case. Indeed, the reader is often surprised and sometimes fairly startled by the perfect freedom and frankness with which the author treats his subjects, whether pointing out their virtues or their faults, their strength or their weakness. Certainly no preacher can read these discriminating sketches without interest and profit, and every preacher should read them.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

ESSAYS.

Rubble and Roseleaves. By F. W. Boreham. The Abingdon Press, New York. 12mo. Pp. 242. Price \$1.75 net.

This is the fourteenth volume of essays from the prolific pen of this Australian essayist. One might suspect that he would be running out of subjects and material. But there is no sign of exhaustion of either. In fact this seems to be one of the best volumes in the entire series. And so long as the imagination and genius of Mr. Boreham can find such interesting subjects and see so many and so interesting lessons in the most commonplace people and things in life, there would seem to be no reason why he should stop. Indeed, one of the fine things about this writer is that he makes us feel that there is no person, no thing, no experience that is really commonplace, if only we have open eyes and an open mind to see and appreciate what lies beneath the surface. Among the chapter headings in this volume are "Old Envelopes," the "Front Door Bell," "New Brooms," "Fish Pens," "A Box of Blocks," "Piecrust," etc. What could be more commonplace than such things as these? But the moment Mr. Boreham's pen touches them they become illuminated, and begin to flash with the most unexpected meanings and lessons. It is the same with the people of whom he writes. If every reader could learn his secret, life itself would be transformed and glorified for many of them.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

SOCIOLOGY.

Society and Its Problems, An Introduction to the Principles of Sociology. By Grove Samuel Dow, Professor of Sociology in the University of Denver. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York. 8vo. Pu. xiv + 594.

This work was first published by the author in 1920. Since then five editions have been printed. For the present edition the text has been entirely revised, much of it rewritten and much new material added, so that the entire text has been reset, making it practically a new book. While intended primarily as a textbook for students the contents and method of presentation are such as to make it of interest and value to the general reader as well as to students. It offers a most comprehensive treatment of

the subject covering about every phase of it that could be suggested.

The discussion is divided into six parts which take up successively and progressively the nature of sociology, problems pertaining to population, social institutions, an analysis of society, social maladjustment and social progress. Some of the chapter headings are The Influence of Geographic Environment Upon the Development of Society; Variation, Heredity, and Eugenics; Increase of Population; Human Migration; Immigration; Urban Migration; The American Race Problem; The Evolution of the Family; Problems of the Modern Family; Religion and Ethics; Education; Poverty; Treatment of Poverty; Crime, and the Treatment of the Criminal; Immorality; Defectives, etc.

Each chapter is followed by a very full list of books for collateral reading, and at the close there is a Bibliography that covers fourteen pages and includes more than four hundred titles. There is also a very complete Index. The general tone of the discussion is optimistic. While the author recognizes the fact that there are still many and difficult problems to be solved, or that have been only partially solved, he claims that on the whole we are making progress. He especially insists that the method of approach to these problems is steadily becoming more rational and efficient, and that our handling of them is constantly on a higher and more enlightened plane. This gives him ground of hope for the future. Even the great World War, he thinks, may have been a blessing in disguise. "Already the indications are that a condition of greater democracy and political freedom will be achieved, as well as greater social advances. Perhaps the world needed such a terrible test of fire to bring out the finer qualities of character and to produce a higher type of civilization. Such has been the history of the past; and the present indications are that the recent war, instead of standing in the way of progress, will permit still greater progress in the future."

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

PRACTICAL.

The Christian Doctrine of Health. A New and Revised Edition. By Lily Dougall. The Macmillan Company, New York. 12mo. Pp. 181. Price \$1.75.

Quite a new emphasis is now being placed by many writers and teachers on the duty of the Church and her

ministry with reference to bodily healing. This emphasis is new at least in modern times. Most of these writers insist that it is only a revival of what was implicit in the teaching and practice of Jesus and the apostles, and also in that of the early Church. This is the contention of the author of this book. In the Introduction she says: "What Jesus taught about the salvation of men's bodies may seem unimportant beside what He taught concerning the salvation of their immortal souls: but if the Church has neglected this teaching this neglect may be the cause of great perversion of thought. Thus, even placing the subject of physical health on an inferior level of importance, we see that to neglect the teaching of our Lord on this matter must be disastrous. But in the following pages it is not admitted that the perfecting of any part of God's visible creation is unimportant, and it is argued that any attempt to separate the material from the spiritual and to live a merely spiritual life must end in spiritual lack." The discussion is divided into four parts: I. Providence and Disease; II. The Nature of Health—Physical, Moral, Mental; III. What is Faith? IV. The Practice of God's Presence as the Source of Physical Life.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

BIBLE STORIES.

The Master. By J. Wesley Johnston. The Abingdon Press, New York. 12mo. Pp. 184. Price \$1.25 net.

This is a book of stories, ten of them, in which the author undertakes to set before us in the short story form many of the most important incidents in the life of "The Master." In a unique foreword printed under the unique title of "Why?" he assures us that these "are not sermons in disguise," neither are they "concealed essays or lectures, theological or otherwise." but plain, simple stories. They are delightfully told and will help to make the incidents more real and telling. They would be good stories to read to children. The incidents chosen are: Christ and Zacchaeus, The Master Tempted, Christ and Nicodemus, Christ and Bartimaeus, Christ and Simon, Christ and Lazarus, The Master Transfigured, Christ and the Young Ruler, The Master Betrayed, and The Master's Easter Day.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

STEWARDSHIP.

The Christian and His Money Problems. By Bert Wilson. George H. Doran Company, New York. 12mo. Pp. 236. Price \$1.50 net.

One of the hopeful signs of the times in church work is the ever increasing emphasis being placed on Christian stewardship. One of the best discussions of this subject is that found in this book. The book is delightfully written and the treatment seems to be adequate and comprehensive, and especially sane and practical. It takes up about every phase of the subject that could be thought of as will be indicated by the following chapter titles: The Christian and Sources of Wealth; The Christian and the Division of the Increase; The Christian and New Testament Stewardship; The Christian's Administration of the Lord's Share; The Christian and National Wealth and Income; The Christian Whose Income is \$5000 or more; The Christian and the Unnamed Sin, Covetousness; The Christian and His Intangible Wealth; The Christian and His Wife; The Christian and His Children; The Christian and His Will; The Christian and His Church's Financial Methods. This will be a good book for the private reading and study of Christian men and women who are honestly desirous of knowing and doing their duty in the use of whatever of this world's goods may be their portion. It will make a good textbook for use in classes which desire to take up this subject for study and discussion. It will also prove a rich mine of sermon material for preachers who are trying to enlighten and instruct their people along this line. The author is Secretary of the United Christian Missionary Society and writes with the clearness and force of a man who has made a careful study of the subject he is discussing. The thesis which underlies the entire discussion is stated by the author himself in the Preface to be: "that men should Christianize all of the processes of money-making, money-saving and money-spending; that the kingdom of God should come not only into a man's heart and into the Church, but into the everyday realm of business, which involves the acquiring, investing and distribution of wealth."

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

HYMNS AND PRAYERS.

Hymns and Prayers for Church Societies and Assemblies.

Authorized by The United Lutheran Church in America. Board of Publication of the U. L. C., Philadelphia. 12mo. Pp. 196. 50 cents. \$40.00 a hundred.

We are glad to welcome the appearance of this new song book the preparation of which was authorized by action of the Washington Convention in 1920. Much time and thought were given to its preparation by the Common Service Book Committee to which the task was committed. We believe that they have done their work well, and that the book will meet and fill a real need in the Church, and will become popular. It is intended for use in meetings of the Women's Missionary Society, the Lutheran Brotherhood, the Luther League, and in Summer Assemblies, Summer Schools, etc. It will also be found well adapted for use in the mid-week services and in all kinds of devotional meetings, including family worship. There are just 150 hymns, and while the collection includes the best standard hymns of the Church, there are also a goodly number of newer and somewhat lighter hymns and tunes of a more popular character. Besides the regular Orders of "Matins" and "Vespers" and the Morning and Evening "Suffrages" there is a simpler Order for the meetings of societies, a brief selection of Psalms arranged for responsive reading, and a rich collection of Collects and Prayers for special occasions and subjects.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

CHURCH MUSIC.

Better Music in Our Churches. By John Mann Walker.

The Methodist Book Concern, New York. 12mo. Pp. 214. Price \$1.25 net.

In a kind of editorial "Who's Who," which is part of the introductory matter in this volume, we are informed that Dr. Mann is the "District Superintendent of the Connersville District, Indiana Conference," of the M. E. Church. He contributes only about one-third of the papers which make up the volume. The rest are written by choir directors, organists, instructors in music, etc. Only to a small extent is the book technical. The aim is chiefly practical as may be inferred from the subjects treated, such as, The Right Use of Music in the Church Program;

Building, Maintaining and Using a Choir; The Organ in the Church Service; Making and Using the Music Committee; The Director of Music, etc. A good book for pastors to read, as well as all others interested in the music of the church, and especially those who have charge of it.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

CATECHETICS.

Book for Catechumens. By C. A. Randolph. Second Edition. The Wartburg Publishing House, Chicago. 24mo. Pp. 116. Price 40 cents.

Two things have been aimed at by the author in the preparation of this little handbook. One is to prepare the younger children, say up to twelve years of age, for the more thorough instruction of the Confirmation class. Hence the work is divided into two parts. Part I is based on Luther's Smaller Catechism. Part II is composed of a brief review of Bible History, of the Bible Promises of a Saviour, a study of the Types and Symbols of the Old Testament, of Church History and of the Confessions of the Church, etc. The subject matter is well chosen, the language is simple and well adapted to the purposes intended.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

CONSOLATORY.

A Candle of Comfort. By Charles Nelson Pace. The Abingdon Press, New York. 4 x 6 inches. Pp. 80. Price 50 cents net.

A delightful little book to put in the hands of one who has been bereaved, or is in sore trouble of any kind. There is an Introduction on "The Ministry of Consolation," and seven short sermons on such topics as "The Strain of Life," "All Things for Good," "The Problem of Suffering," "The Immortality of the Soul," "A Place for You," etc.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

PEDAGOGICAL.

The Teaching of Arithmetic. By E. H. Engelbrecht and Paul E. Kretzmann. Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Md. 5 x 8 inches. Pp. 131. Price \$1.00 net. This is Volume IV in the Teachers' Library being is-

sued by this house. It is intended for collateral reading and study by the teacher himself rather than for use in the class-room, though parts of it might well be utilized for supplemental or experimental work with the pupils of the lower grades, from the first year to the eighth. The first part is theoretical and offers a very suggestive and helpful study from the standpoint of both psychology and pedagogics. The second part is practical and presents numerous problems for solution. While the book was no doubt intended especially for teachers in the parochial schools of the church, teachers in the public schools will find it helpful also.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

The Pastoral Office. An Introduction to the Work of a Pastor. By James Albert Beebe, Dean and Professor of Practical Theology, Boston University School of Theology. The Methodist Book Concern, New York. 8vo. Pp. 307. Price \$3.00 net.

This is a large volume, but it deals with a large subject, and deals with it in a large way. As the publishers state in their advertisement, it is intended to be "an introductory survey of the whole task of a pastor, the first word, not the last, to young men standing on the threshold of the Christian ministry." As the author himself says, in his brief Foreword, he has "attempted to present a balanced statement of the entire work of the church and the methods to be employed, not in the exceptional, but in the average community." We are further told that the volume was prepared "at the suggestion of the General Conference Commission on Courses of Study." Of course, this means the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Naturally, therefore, it will be of special value to ministers, or to those preparing for the ministry of the Methodist Church. But the author expresses the hope that much in the book will prove valuable to a wider circle. This expectation is fully justified by the range of topics discussed and by the way in which they are treated.

The book is divided into three sections, Section I dealing with the subject of Worship; Section II with Administration; Section III with Pastoral Relations. In the first section there are chapters on The Significance of Worship and the Ideals of Worship; on the Materials of

Worship including Music, Prayers, Lessons, Announcements, Offering, Sermon and Benediction; on The Sunday Evening Service, Mid-week Services, and Liturgical Services. In Section II there are chapters on the Importance, the Principles, and Plans of Organization; on the Administration of Worship, of Evangelism, of Religious Education, of Service, of Finance, etc.; also chapters on Church Records, Church Publicity, Church Buildings, and The Church Survey. In Section III there are four chapters on The Call to the Ministry; The Minister's Study; Pastoral Visiting, and Minor Ministerial Ethics.

Each chapter is followed by a list of "Books Recommended for Further Study." This is a valuable feature of the book, but the discussion of the various subjects by the author is so full, and so richly suggestive, that the reader will seldom feel it necessary to look much further.

JACOB CLUTZ.

The Minister and His Parish: A Discussion of Problems in Local Church Administration. By Henry Wilder Foote, Harvard Divinity School. The Macmillan Company, New York. 12mo. Pp. 179. Price \$1.75.

In recent years a number of books on church organization and church management have been written and published by so-called church efficiency experts. We know of none that is more suggestive or helpful than this one which is probably made up of, or based on, lectures given in the class-room to students for the ministry. In his preface, the author says that it is intended as much for laymen as for ministers. Certainly the laymen in our churches, especially those who are charged with administrative duties, such as members of the church council, will find in it a lot of most valuable information and helpful suggestion. After a careful reading of the volume, we can heartily endorse the suggestion of the publishers that it might be a wise thing for pastors to try to induce their church officers to procure copies of the book, and then to organize a study group to take up the chapters one by one for analysis and comparison of views. Both the pastor and the members of the council would probably find mutual enlightenment as to their duties to each other and to the church, and would be led to work together more intelligently and successfully for the good of all.

There are fifteen chapters, and the mere reading of

the title headings will indicate how wide the range of discussion is and how practical it promises to be. They are, The Call and Settlement of the Minister; The Rights and Duties of the Minister; The Legal Organization of the Parish; The Working Organization of the Parish; The Parish Records; The House of Worship; The Parish-House; The Parsonage; The Church Finances; The Minister's Salary and Fees; The Organist and Choir; Church Advertising; The Church and the Stranger; The Ethics of the Ministerial Profession; and The Liberty of the Pulpit. Of course, it would be easy to add to these, almost indefinitely. But they cover most of the most important questions that are likely to arise in the pastoral oversight of a congregation. The positions taken and the advice given are pre-eminently sane, and very few changes or modifications will be found necessary to adapt them to the problems of our Lutheran pastors and church councils.

The last chapter, on "The Liberty of the Pulpit," is perhaps of special interest just at this time, and it is refreshing to read what the author has to say on this subject, especially when we remember that he belongs to a denomination which has always stood for liberal thinking and preaching. He of course stoutly maintains that the minister is not to be muzzled in the pulpit by the prejudices or the whims of his people, that he must be free to expose and rebuke sin, and wrong, and injustice wherever he sees it, whether individual, social, economic or political. But he also recognizes certain just limitations to this freedom. Under this head he says, "he is not free to advocate doctrines contrary to the accepted tenets of the church of which he is the minister. By accepting the call to a given church he has indicated his general sympathy with its theological standards and put himself under moral obligations not to destroy its foundations of faith. He may not, therefore, use his position to press upon his people views which will undermine those standards..... If he holds views thus at variance with the doctrinal standards of his church he should leave it and go where he belongs."

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

HISTORY.

The Bible Story. By the Rev. James Baikie, F.R.A.S. A connected narrative retold from Holy Scripture. The Macmillan Company, New York. Cloth. 6 x 9. Illustrated cover. Pp. 472. Price \$5.00.

This is a real story of the Bible, without any interjections of critical notions and inuendos to awaken doubt as to the integrity of the Bible. It is a fine book for the family library. Old and young will delight in it. Its fifty full page illustrations in color by J. H. Hartley are unexcelled in their sphere. The artist made a special visit to Palestine to study the background for these pictures. They will make an undying impression on the mind of the child. The story is told in good, plain English, and follows the historical order of events in a connected narrative, thus giving a unity to the Scriptures which many of their readers fail to perceive.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

Landmarks in the History of Early Christianity. By Kirsopp Lake, D.D. The Macmillan Co., New York. Cloth. Pp. 113. Price \$1.25.

The lectures which form the pages of this book were given at Oberlin College, on the Haskell Foundation, in 1919. They are in harmony with the chapters on Primitive Christianity, which constitute the third part of Vol. I, on "The Beginnings of Christianity."

Dr. Lake's obsession seems to be that "a nearer approach to truth is always a departure from orthodoxy." With this in mind one is not surprised to read of the limitations of Jesus, whose ethics were those of the first century, and whose thoughts and words were borrowed from his own time and race. "No historical reconstruction can make them adequate for our generation, or even intelligible, except to those who have passed through an education in history." The author discredits the doctrine of the Trinity, denying the deity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit. He disparages the sacraments and gives them a heathen origin. The resurrection story is classed with the narratives of the apparitions of the dead. In fact, practically all the doctrines of the Church are assailed by this distinguished scholar, who poses as an impartial historian. Either he or the Church is right. We

suspect that the scholarship and the cherished faith of the latter cannot be far wrong.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Story of the Bible. By Hendrik Van Loon. With over 150 black and white line illustrations, 16 full-page plates in color and in etching effect, done by the author. Published by Boni and Liveright, New York. Cloth. Pp. 452. Price \$5.00.

This is a very attractive book, with its beautifully illustrated cover and numerous pictures, done by the author himself. Of course these illustrations are not meant to be works of art, but rather suggestive interpreters of the text. Mr. Van Loon is an accomplished story writer. He carries his readers with him as he tells his tale in a simple, graphic way. If his book were a novel or a recital of ordinary history for the young, it would merit unqualified approval. His version of sensual happenings is always chaste, and his presentation of the main facts seems to be inspired by sincerity.

The immediate purpose of the author is to give the story of the Bible to his own children. His motive seems to be moral and intellectual—that is, he believes the Bible to be the best of books, and that no intelligent person should be without the knowledge of it. He disclaims that he is writing a new version of the Bible. "I am merely giving," he says, "the general outline of a book which (especially in its early parts) is often somewhat too complicated for the readers of our own hurrying days." He expresses the hope that his little book may awaken the desire to read the original.

But alas! in spite of the charming style, the avowed noble aim and the many excellencies of Mr. Van Loon's book we are bound to say that a subtle undertone of unbelief runs through the volume, which in the end must leave in the mind of the youthful reader a doubt as to its veracity. He will not be able to distinguish between fact and fiction. And he surely will not recognize in Jesus the Son of God. The account of the formation of the canon is far from correct and utterly ignores anything like a divine guidance in the selection of the books. Miracles are utterly discredited. For instance, the turning of water into wine is only a fable invented several hundred years after the wedding at Cana, to win simple-minded barbarians. Tradition, it is alleged, interpolated the stories of the many wonderful works attributed to Jesus.

The story of the interview with Nicodemus is an absurd perversion of the New Testament account. It was not the Jewish rabbi who came to Jesus by night, but Jesus who accepted an invitation to visit Nicodemus. And the result of the interview was that because the rabbi liked the young Nazarene "he advised him to leave the city as soon as possible!"

These citations indicate that the author's views are spiritually superficial and that their promulgation will probably be more harmful than useful. Mr. Van Loon's book is a contradiction of itself, professing a profound admiration for the best of books, in his exposition of it he discredits much of its authenticity. His Jesus is the best of men, whose biographers have surrounded him with a halo of myth! His interpretation of Jewish and early Christian history gives Christianity an inadequate explanation.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

Lutherans in Berks County, Pa. Two Centuries of Continuous Organized Church Life. 1723-1923. Published by the Reading Conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Penna. Edited by a committee of which the Rev. H. S. Kidd was chairman. Cloth. Pp. 503. Price \$1.50.

This composite history of Berks County Lutherans rests upon the researches of the late Rev. J. W. Early, to which many additions have been made by a number of ministers. The editing has been well done, with the result that the volume is a most interesting and valuable contribution to the history of the Lutheran Church. Fine illustrations adorn almost every page, and numerous biographical notes and portraits give a personal touch to the narrative. Berks is a stronghold of Lutheranism. About 50,000, or one-fourth of the population, are Lutherans—a people of substantial and conservative type, of which the country may be proud. This volume should have a very wide circulation.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

EXEGESIS.

The Making and the Meaning of the New Testament; Its Background, Books and Biographies. By James H. Snowden, Professor of Systematic Theology in the Western Theological Seminary, Alleghany, Pa. The Macmillan Company, New York. Cloth. Pp. 311. Price \$2.50.

Dr. Snowden is a prolific author who has to his credit a score of books of which the present volume is one of the best. There are four parts to this book: The Background of the New Testament, The Books of the New Testament, The Life of Jesus, and The Spread of Christianity. The last is confined to the apostolic age, especially to the labors of St. Paul. The book is didactic, but not critical. It accepts the historicity of the Gospels as the record of the origin, the teaching and the purpose of the Apostolic Church. There is nothing in it to awaken suspicion or doubt, but much to strengthen faith.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Book of Revelation. Comments by Rt. Rev. E. H. Waller, Bishop of Tinnevely and Madura. London: S. P. C. K. New York: The Macmillan Co. Cloth. 12mo. Pp. 185.

This is one of the series of The Indian Church Commentaries. The Introduction consists of eleven brief chapters treating of important aspects of Revelation and its treatment—all very sensible. The chapter on the Lessons of the Revelation for the Indian Church is very practical, and suggests the thought that light may come thence to help us interpret the symbolism of this mysterious book. The comments are excellent. Everywhere correlation with the plain teachings of the Gospels and Epistles is attempted. There is so much that is plain and edifying in the Revelation that we can well hold to that; and watch and wait for the development of God's plans in history.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

THE CHURCH.

Christian Fellowship, or the United Life and Work of Christendom. By Nathan Soderblom, Archbishop of Upsala. Flemming H. Revell Co., New York. Cloth. Pp. 212. Price \$1.50.

This book belongs to "The Christian Handbook Series," of which Dr. Peter Ainslee is editor.

The present volume is of special interest at this time because of the recent visit of its distinguished author in America, where his addresses attracted wide attention. His irenic temper, genial personality, great learning and popular gifts in the presentation of messages of peace have made him, it is said, the most loved man in Europe. "Christian Fellowship" discusses with true historical perspective the unity of Christendom—not yet realized, but idealized. Of the three methods of unity which have been tried—absorption, faith and love—the last alone can win. Its manifestation is *Christian Co-operation*. "Unity must assert itself without waiting for community in doctrine and Church government." This is really the burden of the book. We have our misgivings as to the possibility of spiritual unity without unity in doctrine. Of course, all Christians should and can co-operate in the support of law and order and benevolent institutions. In doctrine Dr. Soderblom seems to be soundly Lutheran. He magnifies his episcopal office as the best form of Church superintendence, but denies that it is an order.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

The Lord's Supper. By G. A. Brandelle. Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill. A tract of sixteen pages. Price 10 cents each; 60 cents per dozen; \$3 per 1,000.

In this tract Dr. Brandelle has put into simple English the doctrine, purpose and use of the Lord's Supper. It is practical rather than dogmatic. It breathes a loving spirit. A church council could not make a better investment than to supply every family with a copy.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

SERMONS.

The Living Christ: A Book of Sermons. By T. E. Schmauk, D.D., LL.D. Compiled and edited by A. Charles R. Keiter, Pastor Salem Church, Lebanon, Pa. The United Lutheran Publication House, Philadelphia. 12mo. Pp. 215. Price \$1.50.

As indicated in the brief Preface to this fine volume its preparation was doubtless a true labor of love on the part of Pastor Keiter, the successor of Dr. Schmauk in the pulpit which was the throne of the latter during his whole pastoral life. But he has also performed a real service not only for the members of the congregation to which Dr. Schmauk ministered so long and so faithfully, but also to the entire Lutheran Church in America, and especially to the United Lutheran Church to the organization and development of which he so largely contributed. It is easy to believe that the editor must have had a difficult task to select out of the great amount of material available the sermons for this volume which would be fairly representative. He seems to have performed the task with fine discrimination and excellent judgment. There are twenty-two sermons included. Five of these are sermons preached before the General Council at its several meetings during his presidency of that body. These naturally deal with the life and problems of the church in a more general way. Probably the most notable of them is the one preached at the meeting of the General Council in Philadelphia in 1917 just when we as a nation were girding our loins and gathering our strength and resources for our participation in the World War. It is based on chapters 33 and 35 of the prophecy of Isaiah, and the title of the sermon is "Our Crisis and Our Conqueror."

There is also a "Confirmation Sermon," and "A Sermon at the Consecration of a Church," an Epiphany sermon, and several sermons on the regular gospel or epistle lessons. The rest of them are of a pastoral character preached as occasion came at the regular services of his congregation. They are all interesting and impressive, and they are all characteristic. This is their great charm, or will be for all who knew and respected or loved the preacher. In the preface the editor rather apologizes for the fact that these sermons were not written for publication, and says that "their author was seeking through them to impress the heart rather than the intellect. Had

he known that they were to appear in print he would have revised and polished them until they would have glowed and sparkled with the same brilliancy that characterizes his other literary productions." This is probably true, but we believe they are better as they are. Much of their charm and effectiveness lies in the fact that they come to us just as they came to his people when they were preached, warm with the love of a true-hearted pastor and fully charged with the burning desire to help them in their spiritual life and experience. Besides, no apology is needed. The sermons do glow and sparkle with the keenness of thought, the deep spiritual insight, the warmth of affection, the ready sympathy, the richness of imagination and the fulness and freshness of illustration which were so characteristic of all the public utterances of Dr. Schmauk.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

The New Greatness. By Rev. Frederick F. Shannon. The Macmillan Company, New York. 12mo. Pp. 148. Price \$1.25 net.

We have come to expect at least one new volume of sermons from this brilliant preacher each year, and this is not too many. On the cover the publishers quote the following commendation from the pen of Dr. George A. Gordon of Boston, himself one of our greatest American preachers: "Rich in experience, original in the manner of the mind, beholding everywhere the unobvious but fundamentally important, brilliant in style, with passionate moral purpose, these are sermons that show the power still living in the American pulpit." There are twelve sermons the first of which gives title to the volume. Other titles are *The Light of Life*, *The Venture of Faith*, *The Soul's Unpaid Debts*, *The Juniper Tree*, *The Heaven Opened*. All the sermons deal with vital subjects and they deal with them in a very vital and stimulating way.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

The Haunted House and Other Sermons. By Halford E. Luccock. The Abingdon Press, New York. 12mo. Pp. 248. Price \$1.50 net.

There are seventeen sermons in this volume. As the publisher's announcement says, they are "strikingly original in theme and treatment." In fact most of the themes, or titles, border on the sensational, such as "*The Haunted House*," which gives title to the volume; "*The*

Long and the Short of It;" "The Intelligence Office;" "Love Laughs at Locksmiths;" "Exclamation Points;" "Parlor or Living Room;" "Calvary and Main Street;" "A Slice of the Millennium;" "Words Frequently Mispronounced;" etc. As a rule, however, when one reads the text it is not difficult to see the connection with the subject or how it was suggested. Thus the sermon on "The Haunted House," has for the text Luke 8:30. "A number of demons had entered him," taken from Moffatt's translation. The text for the sermon on "The Long and the Short of It" is 2 Peter 1:9, "He that lacketh these things is blind, and cannot see afar off"; that for the sermon on "The Intelligence Office," is Luke 19:10, "The Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost;" etc. The treatment is less sensational than the titles might suggest, but is always fresh and interesting, as all good preaching is. We would not expect to find any of the hearers going to sleep under such preaching.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

EVANGELISTIC SERMONS.

Wrecks Rebuilt, and Other Evangelistic Sermons. By Walter Krumweide, B.D. The United Lutheran Publication House, Philadelphia, Pa. 12mo. Pp. 138. Price \$1.00.

There are fourteen sermons in this volume. The author was formerly Superintendent of the Lutheran Inner Mission Society of Buffalo, New York, and in the Preface he tells us that every one of the sermons "was used several times in the course of his work in various charitable correctional and penal institutions and rescue missions," in which he served as the Inner Mission representative. They are well adapted to the uses for which they were prepared and will prove suggestive and helpful to other ministers and to lay workers.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

The Christian Crusade for a Warless World. By Sidney L. Gulick. The Macmillan Company, New York. 12mo. Pp. 212. Price \$1.00.

This book was prepared by Dr. Gulick in connection with his duties as Secretary of the Federal Council's

Commission on International Justice and Goodwill. It is intended and arranged for use as a basis for study in churches, Sunday Schools, Young Peoples' Societies, Christian Associations, and other groups who are interested or should be interested in the subject. The major part of the book is a development of a series of propositions adopted by the Federal Council in 1921 under the general title of "International Ideals." These are to the effect: 1. That nations no less than individuals are subject to God's immutable moral laws; 2. That nations achieve true welfare, greatness and honor only through just dealing and unselfish service; 3. That nations that regard themselves as Christian have special international obligations; 4. That the spirit of Christian brotherliness can remove every unjust barrier of trade, color, creed, and race; 5. That Christian patriotism demands the practice of good-will between nations; 6. That international policies should secure equal justice for all races; 7. That all nations should associate themselves permanently for world peace and good-will; 8. That as Christians we believe in international law, and in the universal use of international courts of justice and boards of arbitration; 9. That we believe in a sweeping reduction of armaments by all nations; 10. That we believe in a warless world, and dedicate ourselves to its achievement. This is followed by a presentation of some concrete tasks which should be undertaken in working towards a warless world, such as the Mexican question, the treaty rights of aliens, the immigration question, keeping faith with China, and the right treatment of the Japanese in America. It is an able and interesting, if not always convincing, discussion of the problems involved, and will well repay careful reading and study.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

The Heritage of the Child: A Pageant of Religious Education. By Laura Scherer Copenhaver. The United Lutheran Publication House, Philadelphia. Pamphlet. 12mo. Pp. 22. Price 25 cents.

The use of pageants for instruction and inspiration has become quite general and always proves popular. This one was prepared for and its publication authorized by the Parish and Church School Board of the U. L. C.. It was presented for the first time at the Convention of

the U. L. C. in Buffalo in 1922, and made a profound impression. The pamphlet contains full directions for costuming, grouping, stage management, etc.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT.

The Revolt of Youth. By Stanley High. The Abingdon Press, New York. 12mo. Pp. 222. Price \$1.75 net.

Few books of the past year have attracted more interest and comment than this. There are probably two reasons for this. The book has a very striking title, and it is exceedingly well written. No doubt the title has accomplished its purpose by attracting attention to the book. But it seems hardly to be justified by the contents. It is not so much revolt as a renaissance of youth that is pictured, a new birth of self-consciousness, the awakening of a new interest in world affairs and a new desire to participate in the solution of world problems. As is the almost universal custom with writers since the World War, the author traces this awakening to the war. No doubt the war gave a new and stronger impulse to the movement and hastened its development, but it had begun before the war and it would have gone on if there had been no war.

The book has ten chapters. The first one gives us a kind of general view of the subject under the significant title, "Theirs not to reason why." In the next eight we have an account of the various movements among the youth, chiefly the student young men and women, in England, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Austria, Russia, Latin America, China and Japan. The closing chapter is again of a somewhat general character discussing the possibility of organizing the movements in the several countries into some kind of "A League of Youth." A paragraph or two from this chapter will give at least a hint as to what the author expects to come out of this movement which he has chosen to designate "The Revolt of Youth."

"In the new social order which youth may build there will be a speedy destruction of superficial conventions and a retention only of those restrictions which make for the progress of society. . . . Finally, in the new world built after the ideals of youth religion will have a more fundamental place than has ever before been accorded to it. In almost every country where to-day a youth revolt is stirring, religious interests predominate. The focal

center of the intellectual renaissance in China is Christianity; in India, in like manner, religious problems are the commanding problems before young students; the *Wandervoegel* of Germany are religious mystics; throughout eastern Europe the students, face to face with life's greatest issues, are more eager for religious counsel than for any other.

"Christianity is on trial throughout the world of youth. There is a widespread faith in Jesus Christ, but little belief in the organized expression of his spirit. In many places the Church is blamed for the World War. Certainly, there are few places where one finds that youth regards the church as adequately representing either Christ's spirit or his New Testament ideal. There is a revolt against formalism, against orthodoxy, against competitive divisions in the Christian ranks, and considerable disgust with the superficialities which consume so large a share of the church-expression of Christ. The religion of youth is mystical, often pantheistic and unorganized, but it is based upon the will of the individual man to find his own way to God, and worship him without the restraint of dogma, as he sees fit to do."

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

FICTION.

The Lie of the Age. By Wm. Schoeler. The Lutheran Book Concern. Columbus, Ohio. 12mo. Pp. 260. Price 60 cents.

This book is by a pastor of the Joint Synod of Ohio and is based on facts that have come under his own experience or observation. It is what is known in literature as "a problem story." That is, while written in story form, and with a fine love story running through it to give it added interest and unity, it is intended to teach a lesson and to advocate a cause. The lesson, in this case, is the peril of sending the young people of the church to educational institutions in which some of the most brilliant and popular teachers are not in sympathy with the church and religion, or positively hostile to them. The cause is the necessity of so equipping our church schools as to enable them to offer to the young people of the church as good facilities for getting an education as they can find anywhere else, and if possible better. Under the guise of fiction, the book is really a discussion pro and con of the now much debated doctrine of evolution. The author shows wide reading on the subject and a very

thorough mastery of some of the best literature on both sides of the question. While his sympathies are evidently with the opponents of the theory of a purely materialistic evolution, he as evidently tries to write objectively, and to present both sides of the question fairly. We commend this book to the careful reading of the young people who are in college, or thinking of going to college, and who may be perplexed by the pretentious claims or the bold assertions of unbelieving teachers of science, whether in the class-room or in the books they read or study. We commend it also to the study of pastors, and parents, and Sunday School teachers who may have to deal with such young people. It is to be regretted that the book is somewhat marred by careless proof-reading.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

The Woman of Knockaloe. A Parable. By Sir Hall Caine. Dodd, Mead and Co., New York. Cloth. Pp. 187. Price \$1.75.

This is a thrilling story with a noble aim. Knockaloe is the name of a large farm on the Isle of Man, used as a detention camp during the World War. The farmer is a Methodist local preacher. He has two children, a son who is killed in battle, and a daughter Mona, a fine high-spirited girl of 23. The father and the daughter hate the Germans with intense hatred. But in the course of time she falls in love with a splendid young German in the camp, who before the war had been an engineer employed by an English firm. They determine to marry with the result that after the wedding they are cruelly persecuted, robbed of their property and insulted by their neighbors. The girl is cast off by her former friends, and the young man is disowned by his mother, and rejected by his former employers. Every avenue of making a decent living is closed. In sheer despair they cast themselves into the ocean.

Thus reads a story of the aftermath of war—as cruel, pitiless and wicked as war itself. It reminds one of Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona*. The distinguished author deserves the Nobel prize for the Promotion of Peace.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

Pulpit and Battlefield. By Arthur H. Kuhlman. The Book Concern, Columbus, Ohio. 12mo. Pp. 128. Price 40 cents.

An interesting story intended to give to Lutherans a

glimpse of the lives and work, the faith and services of the pioneers who laid the foundations in this country on which we of to-day are building. The story turns on the incident in the life of Peter Muhlenberg when, throwing aside his clerical robe at the close of a service which he had conducted, he appeared in the uniform of an officer in the Continental Army and called on the men of his congregation to enlist in the service of freedom and independence.

JACOB A. CLUTZ.

POETRY.

Verses by the Way. By James Henry Darlington, Bishop of Harrisburg. Published by Brentano, Fifth Avenue and 27th St., New York. Cloth. Pp. 107. Price \$1.50.

In the Foreword by Edwin Markham, we read that these verses are intended to gladden the hearts of the Bishop's parish of friends, a parish that reaches from sea to sea, and from the Gulf to the Lakes.

Dr. Darlington is a lover of nature, of man and of God. His poems breathe a spirit of deep devotion to God, of tender affection toward his fellowmen, admiration for what is noble, and of joy in the works of the divine Creator.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

HOMILETICS.

What Is there in Religion? By Henry Sloane Coffin, Minister in the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, and Associate Professor in Union Theological Seminary, New York. The Mascellan Co. New York, 1922. Cloth. Pp. 178. Price \$1.50.

This is a very interesting and practical treatment of religion, showing its vast, intrinsic value. The thought is that the Kingdom of Heaven is like the Hudson River. The latter is an illustration of what religion can do in bringing Refreshment, Cleansing, Power, Illumination,

Fertility, Buoyancy, Serenity and Adventure, Beauty, Division and Unity, Change and Permanency. These several words are the headings of the ten chapters constituting the book. The treatment is apt and suggestive, and the illustrations from life and literature are abundant and striking.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Demonosophy Unmasked in Modern Theosophy. An Exposition and Refutation, with Corrective Bible Teaching. By Mersene Elon Sloan. The Way Press, St. Paul, Minn. Cloth. Pp. 192.

Theosophy, originally a vague Oriental philosophical speculation, and in its modern phase a system claiming to embrace all truth underlying religion, philosophy and science, is a specter conjured up by the imagination of disordered minds. Mr. Sloan finds in it a manifestation of evil spirits, malignant and foul. No doubt much of his exposition is correct; but his efforts as an antagonist are somewhat vitiated by the confession that he himself has had flashes of what he calls "unnatural consciousness during which he distinctly saw and felt himself in India, squatting on a sandy place as Hindu yogi!"

The head of American theosophy is Katherine Tingley, of Point Loma, Cal.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

Service with the Fighting Men. An Account of the Work of the American Young Men's Christian Associations in the World War. In two volumes. Editorial Board: Chairman, William Howard Taft; Managing Editor, Frederick Harris; Associate Editors, Frederick Houston Kent and William J. Newlin. Association Press, New York. Cloth, 7 x 9. Pp. 636, 664.

These splendid volumes, finely gotten up, well written, accompanied by accurate maps, and authenticated by documentary evidence, reflect great credit upon the editors, and are a monument to the achievements of the Y.

M. C. A. Mr. Taft justly recognizes its president, John R. Mott, as its inspiring and capable leader. The Association extended its service to 4,800,000 Americans and to millions more in the Allied armies, administering over \$167,000,000 received from the public. In the performance of its vast work, amid most trying conditions, the Y. M. C. A. made some mistakes, which are freely acknowledged; but its unparallel and blessed service challenges the admiration of mankind and reflects Christian love.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

